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ABSTRACT

On June 26, 1976, the California State Supreme Court affirmed a 1970 lower court decision that the Los Angeles City Unified School District was segregated and school desegregation was ordered. The Supreme Court decision was of great importance to the large population of black residents in the district. However, unlike other desegregation efforts, the Los Angeles plan would affect a third major ethnic group: the Chicano/Mexicano community. Few districts have student enrollments that are approximately equally divided among three ethnic/racial groups: white, black, and brown. Focusing on the desegregation case, Crawford vs Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles, this paper revolves around the Chicano/Mexicano perceptions and expectations regarding racial/ethnic desegregation. The paper reviews the educational achievements and the schooling experience of the Chicano in the United States; provides a brief introduction to the involvement of the judiciary in the provision of equal educational opportunity, specifically with school desegregation; considers school segregation in Los Angeles, the findings of the trial court in the Crawford decision, and the State Supreme Court decision; discusses the importance of school district desegregation for the Chicano; and provides the Chicano perspective, as obtained from interviews with Chicano residents and local community leaders. Appended are a chronology of the Los Angeles school desegregation, and the Superior Court Judge's opinion on the rejection of the Los Angeles Board of Education, March 1977 desegregation plan. (Author/NQ)

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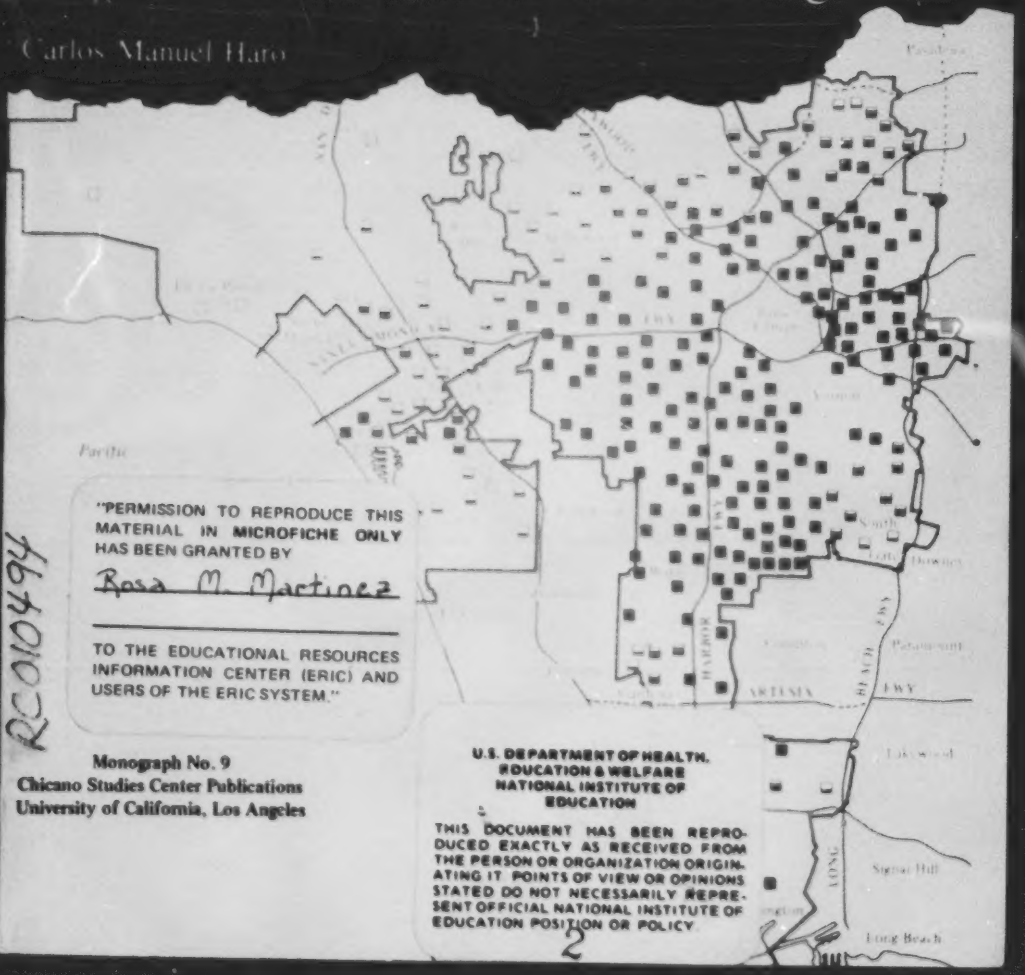
Mexicano/Chicano Concerns and School Desegregation in Los Angeles

Carlos Manuel Haro



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Preface

On June 26, 1976, the California State Supreme Court affirmed a 1970 lower court decision that the Los Angeles City Unified School District was segregated and desegregation of the school was ordered. The Supreme Court decision was of great importance to the large population of black residents in the district. However, unlike other desegregation efforts, the Los Angeles plan would affect a third major ethnic group: the Chicano/Mexicano community.

By 1975, the Chicano student enrollment had surpassed black enrollment and 180,262 Chicano youths, or 29.7 percent of the district students, were attending Los Angeles Schools. It is projected that by 1980 black youths will constitute 26.0 percent of the student enrollment; white students 32.5 percent; and Chicanos 35.9 percent–the largest ethnic/racial group in the district.

Segregation in Los Angeles must therefore be viewed as a multi-ethnic problem: it is neither similar to Boston nor to the segregation concerns of other urban school districts. Few districts have student enrollments that are approximately equally divided among three ethnic/racial groups: white, black and brown. In terms of the number of students affected and the complexities caused by having three large diverse groups, Los Angeles stands alone.

Significant differences exist among the groups and therefore among their educational needs. In order to implement an aggressive and functional desegregation program the school district must account for these differences and the concerns of the various communities.

This paper focuses on the desegregation case, *Crawford v. Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles*, and revolves around the Chicano/Mexicano perceptions and expectations regarding racial/ethnic desegregation. Chapter 1 reviews the educational achievements and the schooling experience of the Chicano in this country. Chapter 2 provides a brief introduction to the involvement of the judiciary in the provision of equal educational opportunity, specifically with school segregation. Chapter 3 considers school segregation in Los Angeles, the findings of the trial court in the *Crawford* decision, and the California State Supreme Court decision on

the case. In this Chapter and in Chapter 5, the importance of school district desegregation for the Chicano is also considered. The final portion of this paper provides the Chicano perspective.

The recommendations of Chicano residents and interviews with local community leaders provide the feeling of urgency that is projected by Mexicans and Chicanos regarding "quality schooling" and the desegregation of the Los Angeles School District.

1
Chicanos and the Schools: Achievement and Opportunity

The 1960 and 1970 U.S. Census showed that the achievement level of Chicano students in five southwestern states was markedly lower than that of the Anglo or the black. Table 1, compiled from information available in the 1960 census, shows the low median years of school completed by Spanish surname persons, (males and female combined) age twenty-five and over, as compared to the Anglo and black population of the same age range.[1] Only in one state, New Mexico, did the Spanish surname group have a higher school completion average, 0.3 years, than the black. Still, that group was 4.8 years lower than the Anglo group.

TABLE 1. Median Years of School Completed by Spanish Surname Persons-1960

Ethnic Group	Arizona	California	Colorado	New Mexico	Texas
Anglo	12.1	12.2	12.2	12.2	11.5
Spanish surname	7.0	8.6	8.2	7.4	4.8
Black	7.0	10.6	11.2	7.1	8.1

SOURCE: 1960 U.S. Census

The median averages of 7.0 for Arizona, 8.6 for California, 8.2 for Colorado, 7.4 for New Mexico, and 4.8 for Texas clearly show that overall the Spanish surname group was lowest, and that a very large portion of that population was not completing secondary school.

Table 2 reviews similar data available in the 1970 census. It was commonly believed that the Spanish surname population of those five southwestern states had made a significant increase in their educational achievement level over the ten-year period from 1960 to 1970. Yet Table 2 shows that the average educational achievement level of the black population was higher than that of the Spanish surname in all states except Arizona; the gap between Anglo and Spanish surname achievement was still tremendously wide.

TABLE 2. Median Years of School Completed by Spanish Surname Persons-1970

Ethnic Group	Arizona	California	Colorado	New Mexico	Texas
Anglo	12.2	12.4	12.4	12.2	11.9
Spanish surname	8.8	10.6	9.8	9.7	7.2
Black	8.8	11.9	12.2	10.9	9.7

SOURCE: 1970 U.S. Census

In each state the median years of schooling for the Spanish surname group never reached twelve years. California Chicano residents had the highest median at only 10.6 years, while the black average was 11.9, and the Anglo was 12.4. It is apparent that Chicanos were terminating their formal public schooling prior to graduating from secondary school. This is dramatic proof that the holding power of the school is weakest when the system is dealing with a Spanish surname population.

These low educational achievement figures are especially meaningful for the southwestern states due to the large enrollment of Chicano youth in their schools. Table 3 shows the Spanish surname student enrollment and their percent of the total population for each of the southwestern states.

TABLE 3. School Enrollment of Spanish Surname Students-1970

State	Total Spanish Surname Enrollment (Students 3 years old and over)		Percent of Total Enrollment in State
Arizona	18,444		19.7%
California	1,082,464		17.8%
Colorado	105,600		15.1%
New Mexico	144,944		43.0%
Texas	702,484		21.5%
Total	2,053,936	Average	23.4%

SOURCE: 1970 U.S. Census, Table 51, General Social and Economic Characteristics.

In 1970 the total number of Spanish surname students in the Southwest was 2,053,936. California, with 1,082,464, had more Spanish surname students than all the other states combined. California has also accounted for 247,934 or 51.1 percent of all Spanish surname high school students in the Southwest. With a total Spanish surname population of 6,188,363 residing in these five states, and over two million enrolled in schools, it is clear that this is a very young minority ethnic group.[2]

At the local level, the percentage of dropouts within the Chicano community in Los Angeles is considerably larger than in the Anglo community. This is very apparent for the Los Angeles City School District. According to a 1965-66 survey undertaken by the Los Angeles City School system, the high schools with the highest dropout rates were predominantly Chicano populated schools: Garfield High School, where the dropout rate was 53.8 percent, and Roosevelt High School with a 47.5 percent dropout rate. In contrast, two predominantly Anglo westside schools, Palisades and Monroe High School, had dropout rates of 3.1 percent and 2.6 percent respectively.[3]

The Chicano/Mexicano Experience with Schooling

Research in the area of Chicano educational opportunity and school achievement was recently conducted by the United States Commission on Civil Rights, a bipartisan agency established by Congress in 1957. Two of the Commission's goals are to (1) Serve as a national clearing house for information concerning denials of equal protection of the laws because of race, color, religion, sex or national origin; and (2) Submit reports, findings, and recommendations to the President and the Congress.

During a five-year period the Commission conducted a Mexican American Education Study which resulted in six reports. This series of reports provides a comprehensive assessment of the nature and extent of educational opportunities available to Chicano children in the public schools of the Southwest. One of the principal objectives of the study series was to inform educators, parents, government officials, and community leaders of the effects of certain educational policies and practices of the schools on Chicano students. A second objective was to provide data on the extent and quality of the education which these students received.

The findings of these Commission reports present a dismal

picture of the status of equal educational opportunity for Mexicans. Under the existing conditions this is what Mexican parents may expect as their children enter a public school in the Southwest:

1. Their children have been and will be isolated from Anglo children.
   Ethnic Isolation of Mexican Americans in the Public Schools of the Southwest, Report I, found that Chicano students attend school separated from their Anglo counterparts. They are isolated by school districts and by schools within individual districts. They are also underrepresented as teachers and counselors and in decision making positions, such as those of school principals and school board members.
2. The language and culture of the Chicano will continue to be excluded by the school.
   The Excluded Student: Educational Practices Affecting Mexican Americans in the Southwest, Report III, found that the language and culture of Chicano children are ignored and even suppressed by the schools. The school curriculum rarely includes programs and courses designed to meet the particular needs of these students. In addition, Mexican American parents are largely excluded from participation in school affairs.
3. Schools to which Chicano children are assigned will continue to be underfinanced.
   Mexican American Education in Texas: A Function of Wealth, Report IV, found that unequal opportunity for Chicanos was indicated in the financing of public schools. An examination of Texas' schools revealed that those which have predominantly Mexican American enrollments are underfinanced in comparison to the schools attended by Anglo children. At the same time, however, the parents of Chicano children bear a heavier financial burden than the parents of Anglo children. Simply stated, poor people, residents of poor districts, pay more of their income in property taxes to support the education of their children but generate less revenue and dollars per student, than wealthier districts.
4. A fourth condition that has existed and that Mexican American parents may expect as their children enter public school is that teachers will treat their children less favorably than Anglo pupils.
   Teachers and Students: Classroom Interaction in Schools of the Southwest, Report V, found that many teachers fail to

involve Mexican American children as active participants in the educational process. In contrast to their treatment of Anglo students, many teachers seldom praise or encourage Mexican American students, avoid asking them questions and make little use of their contributions in class.

5. A fifth condition that Mexican American parents may expect is that 40 percent of their children will drop out of school before graduation, and those that remain in school will achieve lower than their Anglo classmates.
   The Unfinished Education: Outcomes for Minorities in the Five Southwestern States, Report II, found that for every ten Mexican American students who enter the first grade, only six graduate from high school. By contrast, nearly nine out of every ten Anglo students remain in school and receive high school diplomas. The proportion of Chicano students reading six months or more below grade level is twice as large as the proportion of Anglos. By the time Mexican American students have reached the twelfth grade--the 60 percent who have not already dropped out--three of every four are reading below the level acceptable for that grade. They are more than twice as likely to be required to repeat a grade as Anglo students; and they are twice as likely to be below average for their grade in reading achievement.

These conditions dramatize the dimensions of the problem, and, to some extent, they hint at the casual factors that allow for the problem to exist. Obviously, the segregation of Chicanos in the public schools, one of the prevalent conditions found by the commission, has had an invidious and negative effect on the education of that group.

The bare statistics noted in the above reports, in terms of the low achievement, high dropout rates, and treatment of Chicano students, illustrate the magnitude of the barriers to education facing the Chicano. According to Joan W. Moore, in *Mexican Americans*, the schools themselves finally realized the existence of the "Mexican" schooling problem during the 1930s. "Before that time there could have been no recognition of success or failure, because there was no problem defined as such and hence no special effort to educate Mexicans. Nearly all educators saw the Mexican as an outsider to our society, not to be expected to participate in American life."[4] As Thomas Carter noted:

> Frequently attitudes were tinged with racial prejudice; the literature emphasized the differences between the two cultures rather than

> their similarities. The typically low intelligence test scores were used as evidence of innate inferiority. This in turn was used to justify the commonplace segregation in schools. Although some concern was expressed for the state of the Mexican American's health, most of the literature reveals little interest in his economic or educational plight.[5]

Once the problem was recognized and defined as a "problem," there were attempts to cope with it by explanation. In this process, many shallow and overgeneralized stereotypes regarding Mexican children and their culture attained institutional validation as "reasons" for the disproportionate failure rates.[6] Unlike the usual pattern of European ethnic minorities, Mexicans have maintained their cultural identity and have not melted into the larger dominant society. Due to their visibility and distinct qualities, the group stands out in its impoverished condition–a sore thumb in this affluent society. According to Octavio Romano, the dominant society has proposed a philosophy that relegates to fiction the oppressive and exploitive factors that perpetuate the poverty of this minority group, along with condemning their refusal to adhere to the lifestyle of the majority.

> This philosophy includes a stereotype: Mexican Americans are simple-minded but lovable and colorful children who because of their rustic naivete, limited mentality, and inferior, backward 'traditional culture,' choose poverty and isolation instead of assimilating into the American mainstream and accepting its material riches and superior culture.[7]

This stereotype was given professional certification and institutional sanctity because it was accepted, formulated, and propagated by social scientists in their research on Mexican Americans. Public and various social institutions, including the schools, have accepted this negative stereotype of the Chicano, and this, of course, has affected the relationship of the Chicano to the social and economic institutions.

Once Mexican American cultural differences and language difficulties were recognized, southwestern schools took certain steps to deal with the "unassimilable" Mexican American student. Moore wrote that:

> The physically segregated school was a natural reflection of the prevailing belief in Mexican racial inferiority. No southwestern state upheld legally the segregation of Mexican American children, yet the

> practice was widespread. Separate schools were built and maintained, in theory, simply because of residential segregation or to benefit the Mexican child. He had a 'language handicap' and needed to be 'Americanized' before mixing with Anglo children. His presence in an integrated school would hinder the progress of white American children.[8]

Carter found that in most of the Southwest two separate castelike social structures exist. Two communities, the Anglo and the Mexican American, exist side by side. "This castelike relationship is characterized as dominant-submissive: The Anglo segment is superordinate, the minority subordinate. The school mirrors and is a microcosm of the community it serves. Whatever ethnic cleavage and castelike social structures are locally extant are present also in the community's educational institutions."[9] Carter further stated:

> Whether they are at home, in church, at school, on the playground, shopping with parents, attending scout meetings. . . children are provided with examples of the social positions they are expected to occupy and the roles they are expected to play. They are frequently shown that Anglos are best in everything and the Mexicans are the worst. Mexican American children are rewarded in school and in church when they look and act like Anglos and punished (or ignored) if they look and act like Mexicans.
>
> To what degree school personnel act to reinforce and perpetuate this cleavage differs with each institution and community. Interviewees support the contention, however, that teachers do reflect the stereotyping and expectations of Mexican Americans that characterize their community.[10]

Early *de jure* segregation of the Mexican, prompted in part by the acceptance of the negative stereotype of the Mexican, has been declared illegal by the courts. But separation of the Mexican American remains a principal institutional pattern. *De facto* segregation based upon patterns of residential segregation has been found to be widespread in the Southwest. These community patterns appear in school districts and in single schools.[11] The 1966 "Racial and Ethnic Survey of California's Public Schools," showed that 57 percent of the Spanish surname children in the eight large school districts, with 50,000 or more children, attended 'minority schools.' Minority schools were schools in which minority-group pupils comprised 50 percent or more of the total enrollment.[12]

Some educators still defend separate instruction for Mexican American children "on the grounds that it benefits the children. It

is supposed to lessen competition with Anglo children and allow Mexican students more time to make up language deficiencies and other handicaps."[13] These educators may speak of the "special needs" of minority group children and establish school programs to meet those perceived needs. "Most such needs are met by special classes or programs to overcome the deficiencies of Mexican American children. Such special compensatory education (usually remedial) programs are becoming almost universal in southwestern schools."[14] Chicanos are *grouped* (the practice of temporarily placing students in groups of like ability or interest) and *tracked* (an extreme form of ability grouping involving the permanent assignment of children to classrooms or sections - tracks - composed of individuals assumed to have like abilities, interests, or other characteristics). One example of tracking is the previously widespread practice of assigning all Spanish surname children to "Mexican rooms" within ethnically mixed schools. Julian Samora reported in 1963 that "Many communities have had their 'Mexican rooms' for years and years. This is a segregation on pseudo-pedagogical grounds, the reasoning behind it being that children who come to school who are Spanish speaking should be placed in a room by themselves in order to learn English."[15]

One bitterly contested form of tracking is the continued placement of Chicano children in "special education" classes, that is, classes for children who are classified as mentally retarded. Mexicans are greatly overrepresented in such classes. In the ten California counties that have the largest number of Spanish surname students there were almost twice as many Spanish surname students in special education as their percentage in the total school population would indicate. These ten counties had an average Spanish surname enrollment of 15.35 percent; 30.09 percent of special education students had Spanish last names.[16] For California as a whole, in 1966, 13.30 percent of the school enrollments were Spanish surname students while 26.62 percent of the special education students were found to have Spanish surnames.[17] The failure of standard psychometric instruments to validly measure Mexican children has been recognized as a principal reason for overrepresentation of the ethnic group in special education, as well as in other low academic achievement tracks.[18] Yet, even though the validity of standardized tests and their use with Chicano students has been called into question, educators throughout the Southwest continue to administer and use the results of standardized achievement and intelligence tests to place these students in educational tracks, namely, low academic tracks and EMR (Edu-

cable Mentally Retarded) classes.[19] It has been argued that this kind of policy exemplifies the acceptance of the negative stereotypes of Mexicans by school personnel. Some critics of the schools propose that educators themselves have created and perpetuated the cleavage between the educational institution and the Chicano community by establishing and maintaining such discriminatory policies.

Dr. George I. Sánchez, writing in 1933, described various factors which he felt affected the Mexican American in this country:

> The frequent prostitution of democratic ideals to the cause of expediency, politics, vested interests, ignorance, class and 'race' prejudice, and to indifference and inefficiency is a sad commentary on the intelligence and justice of a society that makes claims to those very progressive democratic ideals. The dual system of education presented in 'Mexican' and 'white' schools, the family system of contract labor, social and economic discrimination, educational negligence on the part of local and state authorities, homogeneous grouping to mask professional inefficiency, all point to the need for greater insight into a problem which is inherent in a melting pot society. The progress in our country is dependent upon the most efficient utilization of the heterogeneous masses which constitute its population–the degree to which the 2 million or more Spanish speaking people, and their increment, are permitted to develop is the extent to which the nation should expect returns from that section of its public.[20]

According to Sánchez, it was the prevailing discriminatory policy against "Mexicans," and the concommitant acceptance of a negative stereotype of the "Mexican" ethnic group that prevented the minority from full participation in this society. In part, this condition was perpetuated by the educational system itself. Sánchez noted, "Many communities provide a separate school for children of Spanish name. These 'Mexican Schools' are established ostensibly for 'pedagogical reasons,' thinly veiled excuses which do not conform with either the science of education or the facts in the case." He further wrote:

> Judging from current practice, these pseudopedagogical reasons call for short terms, ramshackle school buildings, poorly paid and untrained teachers, and all varieties of prejudicial discrimination. The 'language handicap' reason, so glibly advanced as the chief pedagogical excuse for the segregation of these school children, is extended to apply to all Spanish name youngsters, regardless of the fact that some of them know more English and more about other school

> subjects than the children from whom they are segregated. In addition, some of these Spanish named children know no Spanish whatsoever, coming from homes where only English has been spoken for two generations or more. . . .[21]

Segregation of the Mexican was a concern in the 1930s and today, a generation later, the segregation of Chicanos and the lack of attention to their educational needs is an even greater problem. The "Mexican Schools" of yesterday exist to this day. However, we now have millions to consider, including almost 200,000 Chicano and Mexicano students in Los Angeles, the majority of whom are segregated.

2
Equal Educational Opportunity and the Judiciary

Although there are many concepts in the field of education that have been confused, there are few that have been the subject of as much confusion as the concept of equal educational opportunity. The meaning of terms such as "equality of education" or "educational opportunity" have not been clarified. Various educators used these terms in a multitude of ways. Therefore there is no standard or simple notion regarding what educational equality is. In general, most educators would agree, the one ingredient that must be included in any definition of "equality of educational opportunity" is the controversial issue of racial segregation and discrimination.

Efforts to attain equality of education began with the attempts to end racial segregation in this society. Not only did these efforts affect some social relationships among people but it also forced change throughout some social systems. The schools effected some changes in the 1950s and 1960s; yet, segregation continues to exist into the 1970s, and school segregation as a phenomenon will continue to negatively affect educational opportunities. It has been put forth that the issue of racial/ethnic desegregation is no longer relevant in the continuing struggle to attain equality of education for all people in our society. This concept erroneously states that segregation no longer exists and that the effects of previous school segregation are minimal.

Historically, ethnic and racial minorities and other segments of our society have struggled to end segregation, however, this has not assured that viable changes would occur in the educational system. Neither the executive nor the legislative branch of the federal government took on the responsibility for affirming the equality of all people in this country, and the right of all to partake in the educational benefits available. Ultimately, it was the judiciary that acted to clarify the question of equality and later took on the question of educational opportunity. It was the court system that played a key role in the development of governmental policy with respect to desegregation. And it was the United States Supreme Court litigation in this area that revolutionized the

policies of the schools in the fifties and sixties. The effects of those decisions are still being felt.

To understand the relevance of judicial action in education some basic assumptions that have been made by educators should be understood. In delineating what he sees as three revolutions in education, Francis Keppel, in *The Necessary Revolution in American Education*, shows where America has been and where it should be going:

> The first revolution in American education was revolution in *quantity*. Everyone was able to be provided the chance for an education of some sort. That revolution is almost won in the schools. . . . The second revolution is *equality* of opportunity. That revolution is underway. The next turn of the wheel must be a revolution in *quality*.[22]

Education became available for all, and all were compelled to attend. But unequal schools have developed and the revolution for quality education has occurred for a select group only. For Keppel, the "necessary revolution" in American education is the revolution of the "contradiction in practice between quality of education and equality of educational opportunity."[23]

Some contemporary educators believe that the revolution in equality cannot be gained without aid from the judiciary. The self-interest of the privileged parents and the officials who represent them will continue to hinder the achievement of equality of educational opportunity. Therefore, the judiciary must be called upon to protect the interest of those citizens who are left without the opportunity to educate themselves properly in this society. This is especially important in this country. As Ivan Illich's book *Deschooling Society*, spells out, "The public is indoctrinated to believe that skills are valuable and reliable only if they are the result of formal schooling."[24] Consequently, the schools have a monopoly on access to opportunity in society and they serve as the screening device that selects individuals for social mobility and prosperity. Doubtless, this has special meaning for members of racial minority groups living in this country.

Possibly the only access to an improved socioeconomic condition for a lower class black, Chicano or Indian is through the educational system. Only by increasing their education do they stand the chance of improving their individual and group situation. But if education is not equally available, or if it is restricted along racial/ethnic lines, then a certain segment of our society is doomed to exclusion from the promises and privileges supposedly offered

to all of the people. According to the Constitution, this should not be the case. Yet, infractions of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, which includes the prohibition of racial discrimination, have occurred in the past and will continue to occur in the future.

Infractions to the Constitution can be appealed in the courts, and taken as far as the U.S. Supreme Court; this includes cases involving racial discrimination and educational opportunity, which is of prime concern to the Mexican community. Since education is fundamental to establishing racial equality, and since racists educational policies perpetuate racial discrimination in all facets of our society, the decisions of the judiciary in cases involving race discrimination are crucial. A review of a few of the major U.S. Supreme Court cases that provided a precedent for lower courts will supply us with a gauge of the evolving position of the courts with respect to discrimination.

The history of the Supreme Court and racial segregation in the schools began with a case not directly related to education – *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). Cases involving segregation and equality of educational opportunity involve interpretation of that part of the Fourteenth Amendment which reads ". . . nor shall any state . . . deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." At issue was the constitutionality of a Louisiana state act that provided for separate railway cars for white and black passengers. Because the Fourteenth Amendment was not viewed, at that time, as establishing social equality as a basic constitutional right, the Supreme Court refused to interfere with the authority of the Louisiana State General Assembly as long as its act was *"reasonable."* Therefore, a state legislature could, according to the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Constitution, require separate railway facilities for the two races.

Plessy v. Ferguson was not only applicable to railway facilities but also to others, including educational facilities. So in the first important "race" case reviewed, the Supreme Court opted to maintain the status quo. Race segregation would remain within the states' discretion, but other cases were brought before the court in the hope that the position of the court would change.

Cummings v. County Board of Education (1899) was the first school case to test the *Plessy* "separate but equal" doctrine. In it the Supreme Court held that the principle of equality could not justify removing an educational opportunity from the privileged white group because there were no schools for black children. Further, the court did not require the school board involved in the

case to establish a high school for the black group because of the "strain" it would place on its resources. Thus, the action of a county board of education to decline to maintain a high school for blacks, while maintaining one for whites, was held not to violate the Constitution's guarantee of equal protection of the laws.

Therefore, although the black was no longer a slave, he lived in what Roche and Levy termed "juridicial limbo – a condition that was institutionalized in 1896 by the Supreme Court *(Plessy v. Ferguson)* as separate but equal treatment, or Jim Crow."[25] Supreme Court decisions clearly upheld segregation – and this posture did not change substantially for forty-two years. During that time education at all levels was for the privileged white. Throughout the nation blatant racist policies were practiced in the schools, but racial discrimination was not limited to the blacks alone. In the West, in Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Colorado, and California, Americans of Mexican descent were faced with the same Jim Crow justice used against blacks. Also, the Asian American and the Indian minorities were not privileged to equal protection of the law. These minorities existed in the juridicial limbo in which the laws that protected the privileged white did not always apply to them. Separate laws, separate railways, and separate schools, or no schools at all, could be maintained for these minorities. The Supreme Court did not view that as unconstitutional.

A change in the posture of the Supreme Court occurred in 1938. In what is considered as a "modern" decision involving discrimination, *Gaines v. Canada*, the Court began to explore the nature of the equality which is guaranteed by the Constitution in a different manner. In this case the Court held that:

> When a state elected to provide an opportunity such as legal education, members of one racial group should receive substantially the same opportunity as members of the other racial group. Separation laws were seen as Constitutional as long as they provided privileges of equal quality.[26]

The Court now took the position that if certain educational training was supplied by a state it must assure that the training was available to all the residents of the state on the basis of equal quality. The state was bound to furnish the black with an education equal to that which the state gave to persons of the white race.

As World War II became eminent, the problem of race discrimi-

nation took on larger proportions. After the war, the idea of the "white master race" could not be supported by a country that had fought against Nazi racism. The changing atmosphere in the nation facilitated the change in the Court's response to discrimination cases. But, it still refused to consider the nullification of the "separate but equal" doctrine. The Court decisions, during this period, moved toward but did not uphold, that imposed segregation and racial discrimination violated the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. In cases such as *Fisher v. Hurst* (1948), *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), and *McLaurin v. Oklahoma Regents* (1950), the Court edged up to the issue. In the *Sweatt* case, the Supreme Court reviewed whether Sweatt enjoyed equal protection of the law because he could attend a newly created all-black law school. The Court had to decide whether the segregated facilities provided for black students within a state were substantially equal to those provided for white students. Its decision, that Sweatt did not enjoy equal protection of the laws, was based solely on the circumstances of the individual case. The judges felt they had special expertise in legal training and they readily saw certain inferiorities in the black law school. The Court did not make a sweeping decision – rather it argued that its decisions during this period were based upon the merits of each individual case which freed the Court from having to directly confront the separate but equal doctrine underwritten by *Plessy v. Ferguson*, or declare racial segregation as being unconstitutional according to the Fourteenth Amendment.

Yet, because the President and the Congress could not act to legislate the elimination of segregation, as they were constantly defeated by the conservative political power block, the issue was ultimately left in the hands of the Court. *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) was the landmark case. The separate but equal doctrine was directly confronted and disaffirmed.

The Court stated that:

> [Black] and white schools involved had been equalized, or are being equalized, with respect to buildings, curricula, qualifications and salaries of teachers, and other 'tangible' factors. Our decision, therefore, cannot turn on merely a comparison of these tangible factors in the [black] and white schools involved. We must look instead to the effects of segregation itself on public education.[27]

Sociological and psychological evidence of the affects of segregation and the assertion that legally separating children solely on the

basis of race was unconstitutional, were arguments presented to the Court. The decision of the Court held:

> Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to (retard) the educational and mental development of [black] children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racially integrated school system.
>
> Whatever may have been the extent of psychological knowledge at the time of Plessy v. Ferguson, this finding is amply supported by modern authority. Any language in Plessy v. Ferguson contrary to this finding is rejected.
>
> We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of "separate but equal" has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws quaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.[28]

A year later, in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1955), the Supreme Court held that racial discrimination in public education was unconstitutional. They further stated that all federal, state, or local laws requiring or permitting discrimination must be eliminated.

With the end of the separate but equal doctrine in the Court, and with the determination of race discrimination as being unconstitutional, the Supreme Court acted to preserve the rights of the politically powerless. Nevertheless, not all Supreme Court or lower court orders receive full and immediate compliance, as is obvious in the contrast between progress in school desegregation and progress in political reapportionment. "Unlike the reapportionment cases, which received . . . rapid acquiescence by the states, school segregation has changed little in the years since Brown."[29] Apparently, the difference between the two lies in the willingness of the public to accept and adopt certain changes, and the nature of the sanctions available to guarantee that the changes occur.

The judiciary has the duty to review the laws passed and to judge whether the constitutional rights of citizens are being safeguarded. But the opinions of the courts, including any new interpretations of the Constitution, appears to be difficult to enforce. It is left to the public, and public servants, to incorporate and implement the orders of the court. If the public disregards a new law the judiciary must rely on the executive and legislative branches of government to follow with sanctions. Congressional

legislation, such as the Civil Rights Act, and the U.S. Attorney General's efforts, on behalf of the President to enforce civil rights laws, are examples of collaboration that have occurred between the three branches.

Reapportionment has been quickly implemented because, as Arthur Wise put it, "the criterion– one person, one vote, one value is 'simplistic.' Desegregation has failed partly because the criterion has not been so clear."[30] Equality is not a term that has lent itself to a specific or simple definition. But compliance to laws and court orders that end discriminatory practices, especially in the schools, is further complicated in that many sectors of the public do not believe or subscribe to these laws—nor do all public servants willingly attempt to accommodate them.

In California, in 1976, the issue of school segregation was still being contested in the State Supreme Court. The Los Angeles Unified School District, the second largest district in the United States, was the defendant in the *Crawford* case in which the plaintiff charged that the district was segregated across racial and ethnic lines.

3
School Segregation and The *Crawford* Case

The *Crawford v. Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles* case was filed in August 1963. For several years the plaintiffs attempted to convince the Los Angeles City School District to voluntarily establish a plan to desegregate its schools. These efforts failed and the case went to trial in October 1968. The trial continued intermittently for sixty-five court days but did not conclude until May 1969. Sixty-two volumes of trial transcript resulted in which the court issued its findings of fact and conclusions of law in May 1970.

Judge Alfred Gitelson of the Los Angeles Superior Court found that the Los Angeles Unified School District was unlawfully segregated. His trial court made the following important findings:

1. That the District was in fact substantially segregated. It was found that three out of every five schools in the district were segregated, over the 1966 to 1968 period for which statistics were available, and that the district had become increasingly segregated over time. The trial court defined a segregated school as a "school whose pupil enrollment consists of substantially more than 49 percent of minorities, or any thereof, or substantially more than 50 percent whites."[31] The statistical evidence presented to the Gitelson trial court revealed that in 1968 a substantial proportion of the district's schools had student populations of either 90 percent or more minority students or 90 percent or more white students. For example, of the eighty elementary schools which had enrollments of over 50 percent black students, seventy-two had enrollments of over 90 percent black; of the fifteen junior high schools which were predominantly black, thirteen had black populations of 90 percent or more; of the nine "majority black" high schools, seven had black student populations exceeding 90 percent.[32]
2. The trial court of 1970 also found that the School Board had not taken steps to either devise or to implement a reasonably feasible program which would attempt to alleviate the segregated condition of its district's schools.[33]

3. That the School Board had since at least May of 1963 knowingly, affirmatively and in bad faith . . . and practices, . . . segregated, *de jure*, its students through its "neighborhood school" assignment policy and its choice of sites for new schools which led to heavier segregation, the implementation of an "open transfer" policy for those who could afford their own transportation knowing that white students were generally more affluent and could afford the transportation costs, the "feeder school" policies, and the establishment of mandatory attendance areas and boundaries around its neighborhood schools.[34]
4. That the plant, teachers, physical facilities and curriculum at the district's minority segregated schools are in fact of poorer quality than the plant, teachers, physical facilities and curriculum at its predominantly white schools.[35]
5. That the minority students suffer serious harm when their education takes place in segregated public schools and that such harm is present whether the segregation is *de jure* or *de facto*.[36]

The California Supreme Court Decision

The Los Angeles City School District Board of Education appealed the trial court decision to the California State Supreme Court. The Supreme Court *affirmed* the trial court's decision and remanded the case back to the trial court for further proceedings on June 28, 1976. At that time the higher court indicated that the state constitution does not require a school board to achieve a particular or identical racial balance, as had been ordered by the Gitelson Court; rather, the constitutional evil inheres in the existence of segregated schools. It is the elimination of such segregation and the harms inflicted by such segregation that is the ultimate constitutional objective.

The Supreme Court provided that identifiable symptoms of a segregated school district include, in addition to the racial and ethnic composition of the school's student body, other factors, such as the racial and ethnic composition of faculty and staff, the community attitudes toward the school, and whether it is possible to identify a "white school" or a "minority school" by reference to the racial composition of faculty and staff, the quality of school buildings and equipment, or the organization of sports activities.

The Supreme Court also indicated that in order for a district to

correct the existing segregation it must take "reasonably feasible" corrective measures to alleviate school segregation with its accompanying specific harm to minority children. The goal to be achieved is not simply the mixing of races to satisfy statistical predilections, but rather the elimination of the varied harms to minority children which have generally flowed from the maintenance of segregated schools.[37]

Review of the Trial Court Findings

Obviously, the key issue in the courts was whether or not the Los Angeles City School District was (and continues to be) segregated. Regarding this question, the Supreme Court supported the findings of the lower court that the district was substantially segregated. According to the California Supreme Court:

> Indeed, the school board does not challenge the trial court's findings of substantial segregation in the district's school. That the board "has – since at least May of 1963, knowingly, affirmatively and in bad faith – by and through its affirmative policies – and practices – segregated, de jure its students . ."[38]

Overall, the Supreme Court supported the trial court in all areas except in the lower court's order that the district assure that each of its schools be integrated and racially balanced; that is, that each school's pupil enrollment must consist of approximately the same racial proportions as exist in the district as a whole. The Supreme Court indicated that, "we do not believe such racial or ethnic balance or even approximate racial or ethnic balance is required as a matter of constitutional law. Our decisions, instead, require only that school districts take reasonable and feasible steps to eliminate segregated schools, i.e., schools in which the minority student enrollment is so disproportionate as realistically to isolate students from other students and thus deprive minority students of an integrated educational experience."[39]

The School's Defense

It has been noted that the Los Angeles Board of Education did not challenge the trial court's findings of substantial segregation in the district, that the board had not acted to alleviate the segregated conditions, and that the board had taken a number of relevant actions with the knowledge that such acts would create and perpetuate segregated education within the district.[40] The

school board did not seriously dispute these trial court findings. Rather, its defense rested on two points. First, the board's legal counsel explained the board's failure to attempt to devise any comprehensive desegregation strategy on the grounds that the board and the district staff were not, and are not, convinced that the educational value if any, of a desegregation program outweights the detriment, in terms of financial cost, that such a program would entail.[41] Secondly, the board contended that the segregation that exists in its schools is *de facto* in origin, and therefore, that it bears no constitutional obligation to take any steps to attempt to alleviate the conceded racially and ethnically segregated status of its schools.[42] In this regard, according to the California State Supreme Court, "The school board relies heavily upon several recent decisions of the United States Supreme Court, which it contends, establishes that school districts have no constitutional duty to remedy *de facto* school segregation. As presented in these recent federal cases, the issue as to whether school districts have an obligation under the federal constitution to avoid the perpetuation of purely *de facto* school segregation remains an open question. In focusing primarily on these federal decisions, however, the defendent [School Board] ignores a significant line of California decisions which authoritatively establish that in this state school boards so bear a constitutional obligation to take reasonable steps to alleviate segregation in the public schools, whether the segregation be *de facto* or *de jure* in origin."[43]

De Jure or De Facto

Fourteen years ago, in *Jackson v. Pasadena City School District,* (1963) the California Supreme Court, in a unanimous decision, explicitly declared that "The segregation of school children into separate schools because of their race, even though the physical facilities and the methods and quality of instruction in the several schools may be equal, deprives the children of the minority group of equal opportunities for education and denies them equal protection and due process of the law."[44] The court held " . . . that as a consequence school boards in this state bear a constitutional obligation to undertake reasonably feasible steps to alleviate such racial segregation in the public schools, regardless to the cause of such segregation."[45]

Although the California Supreme Court agreed with the trial courts decision in *Crawford v. Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles,* that the segregation in the school district was *de jure*

in nature, it emphasized that its decision was not based upon the characterization of *de facto* or *de jure*. With *de jure* segregation being defined as a "current condition of segregation resulting from intentional state action," the court clearly noted that the constitutional obligations of school boards in California entail more than simply the avoidance of *de jure* segregation and such intentionally invidious conduct.[46]

According to the court: "Residential segregation is in itself an evil which tends to frustrate the youth in the area and to cause antisocial attitudes and behavior. Where such segregation exists it is not enough for a school board to refrain from affirmative discriminatory conduct. The harmful influence on the children will be reflected and intensified in the classroom if school attendance is determined on a geographic basis without corrective measure. The right to an equal opportunity for education and the harmful consequences of segregation require that school boards take steps, insofar as reasonably feasible, to alleviate racial imbalance in schools regardless of its cause."[47]

Harm to Students

Without debating the question of whether the Los Angeles School District is characterized as having *de jure* or *de facto* segregation, the Supreme Court noted that the harm inflicted upon minority children "do not of course, turn on whether the segregation is of *de facto* or *de jure* character; it is the presence of racial isolation, not its legal underpinnings, that created unequal education."[48] The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights noted in its publication, *"Racial Isolation in the Public Schools,"* that students suffer speical harm when their education occurs in segregated schools:

> The environment of schools with a substantial majority of [black] students – offers serious obstacles to learning. The schools are stigmatized as inferior in the community. The students often doubt their own worth, and their teachers frequently corroborate these doubts. The academic performance of their classmates is usually characterized by continuing difficulty. The children often have doubts about their chances of succeeding in a predominantly white society and they typically are in a school with other students who have similar doubts. They are in schools which, by virtue of both their racial and social class composition, are isolated from models of success in school. . . . racial isolation in the schools – fosters attitudes and behavior that perpetuate isolation in other important areas

> of American life. [Black] adults who attend racially isolated schools are more likely to have developed attitudes that alienate them from whites. White adults with similarly isolated backgrounds tend to resist desegregation in many areas – housing, jobs, and schools.[49]

From the existing evidence it appears that the maintenance of segregated education does disproportionately impede the achievement of minority students vis-à-vis majority students.[50] However, the detriments traditionally identified with segregated education rest in significant part, outside of the academic sphere. Additionally, racist attitudes and behavior, along with the continual efforts to maintain racially and ethnically separated enclaves, have been cited as major contributing factors to segregation, including school segregation.[51]

Segregation as a "State Action"

Whatever the origins or causes of school segregation, the California Supreme Court established that:

> . . . under traditional constitutional doctrine, local school boards are so 'significantly involved' in the control, maintenance and ongoing supervision of their school system as to render any existing school segregation 'State Action' under our state constitutional equal protection clause. In California, school boards possess plenary authority to determine school assignment policies; to establish and reestablish geographic attendance zones; to determine where new schools will be built, what their size will be and what 'neighborhood' they will serve; to create or eliminate transfer options between schools; and to establish specialized programs that may attract particular students to particular schools. Given the school board's pervasive control over and continuing responsibility for both the daily decisions and the long range plans which in fact determine the racial and ethnic attendance pattern of its district's schools, past authorities demonstrate that the state cannot escape constitutional responsibility for the segregated condition of the public schools.[52]

Moreover, the court noted that although a school board's establishment of and adherence to a "neighborhood school policy" may on its face represent the implementation of "neutral," constitutionally permissible classification scheme, the effect of such state action has invariably been to inflict a "racially specific" harm on minority students when such a policy actually results in segregated action.[53]

The U.S. Supreme Court, in *Brown v. Board of Education,*

(1954) concluded that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." The California Supreme Court, since *Jackson* (1963), and in *Crawford* (1976), concluded that the inherently unequal status of segregated schools has traditionally been true regardless of whether the schools are *de jure* or *de facto* segregated. It is the responsibility of the school board, as a state agent, under the state's equal protection clause, to alleviate such segregated conditions.

Trends in Segregation in Los Angeles Schools

Although the 1976 trial record does not contain any recent statistical data on the demography of the Los Angeles City Unified School District, the California State Supreme Court noted that a 1971 "Enrollment Survey" conducted by the Federal Department of Health, Education and Welfare, found that the Los Angeles School District was among the most segregated in the entire country, with 86.6 percent of black pupils attending schools which were more than 80 percent black.[54]

According to the lower court trial record, in 1968 the racial and ethnic breakdown of students in the school district was 20 percent Mexican American, 22.6 percent black, 3.6 percent Asian American, 0.2 percent American Indian and 53.6 percent white. Numerically, this represented:

129,591	Mexican Americans
146,686	blacks
23,141	Asians
1,192	American Indian
347,967	white[55]

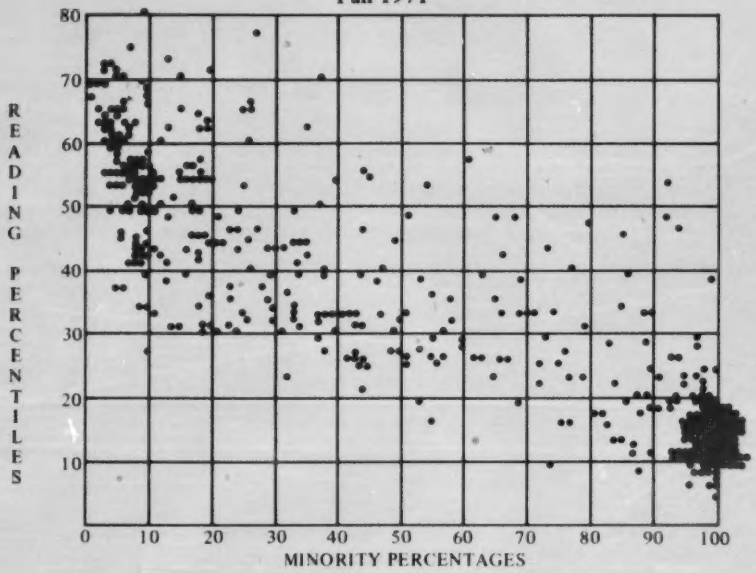
In 1971 the ethnic/racial percentages and numbers had changed to:

	Number	Percent of Total
Mexican American	142,844	22.7%
black	156,003	24.8%
Asian	21,589	3.4%
American Indians	1,304	.2%
white	300,079	47.7%
All students	629,144	100.0%[56]

By looking at only the primary schools in 1971, it is found that approximately 170 schools were "predominantly minority" and had 80 percent or more minority student enrollment. Well over 100 schools were "predominantly white" and had 80 percent or

more white students; and approximately 115 schools were "mixed" with less than 80 percent of any particular group but with at least 20 percent white. Graph 1 not only shows the significant segregation of the schools in 1971, with over two-thirds segregated (over 80 percent minority or 80 percent white), but it also graphically shows one of the harmful effects of segregation: the minority youth in the segregated schools have a significantly lower reading achievement level than the white youth.[57] The correlation is dramatic; the predominantly white schools have higher test scores while the segregated black and Mexican schools have much lower average reading scores.

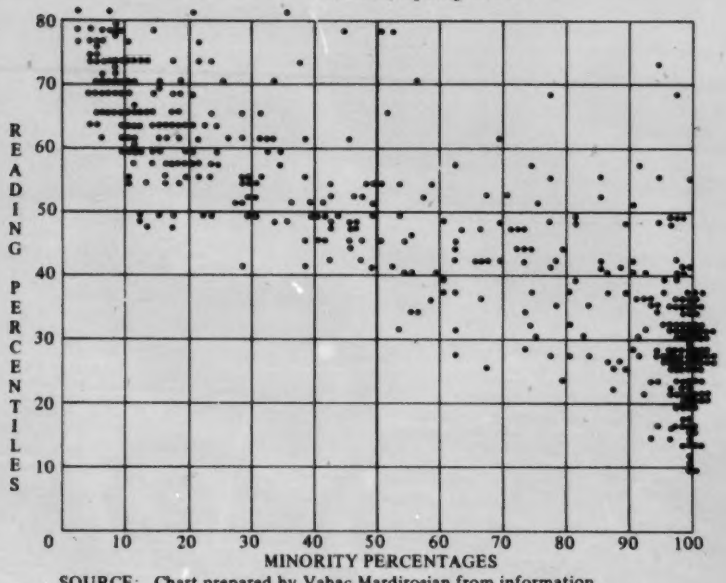
GRAPH 1. Los Angeles City Schools, Sixth Grade Reading Scores, Fall 1971



SOURCE: Chart prepared by Vahac Mardirosian from information contained in L.A. Unified School District. Summary Report #321.

Graph 2, showing the 1976 sixth grade reading scores and the minority student distribution, supports the 1971 findings. The same correlation between segregated ethnic/racial minority schools and low academic achievement is found with mathematics and other standard measures for achievement. This pattern is one of the invidious effects of segregation that the California Supreme Court mentioned in its decision.

GRAPH 2. Los Angeles City Schools, Sixth Grade Reading Scores, Spring 1976



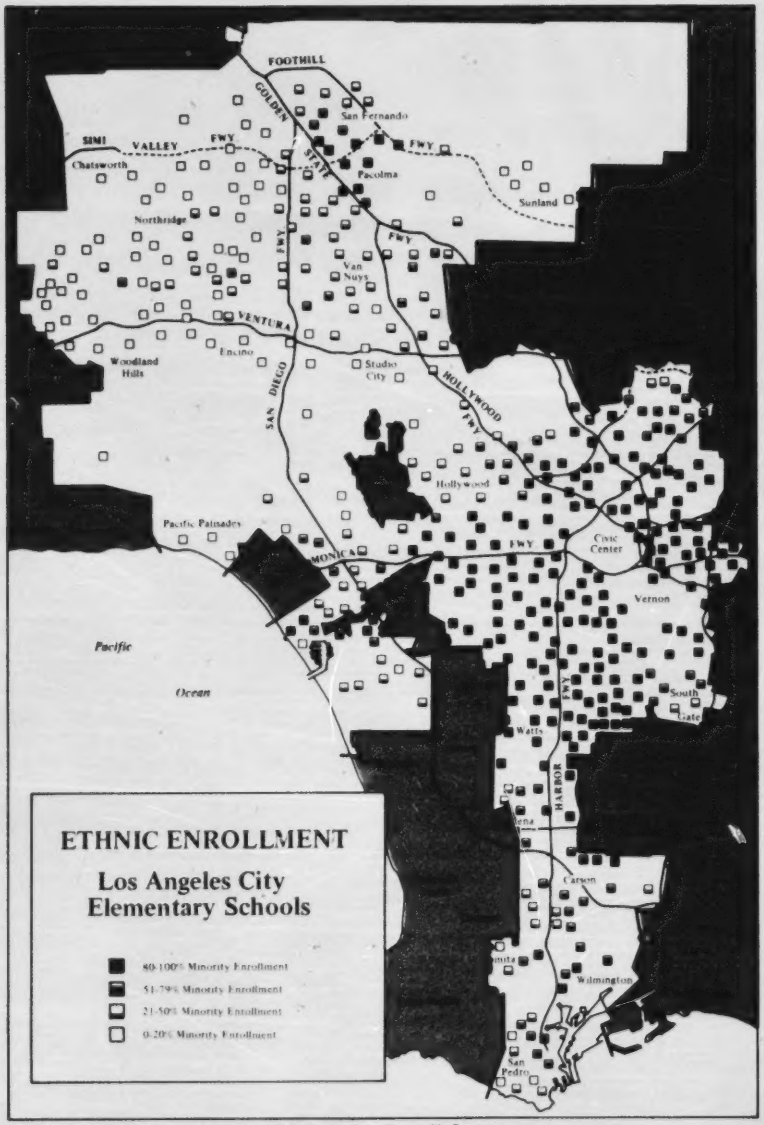
SOURCE: Chart prepared by Vahac Mardirosian from information contained in L.A. Unified District. Summary Report 350

Recent survey information shows that the ethnic/racial groups are distributed in different geographic sectors of the school district. Map 1 of the Los Angeles City School District shows that most whites are concentrated in the San Fernando Valley sector and, to a lesser degree, in the West Los Angeles sector. Chicanos and blacks are concentrated in the central city sector.[58] However, if we look at Map 2, within the central city, the blacks are segregated into school district C, which had 93.0 percent black in 1973; while Chicanos are segregated in area G which had 91.3 percent Chicano in 1973. Even in areas of the school district where there appears to be an ethnic/racial balance of whites, Chicanos and blacks, schools exist that are predominantly minority, or predominantly white.

School Desegregation in Los Angeles: A Vital Concern for Chicanos and Mexicans

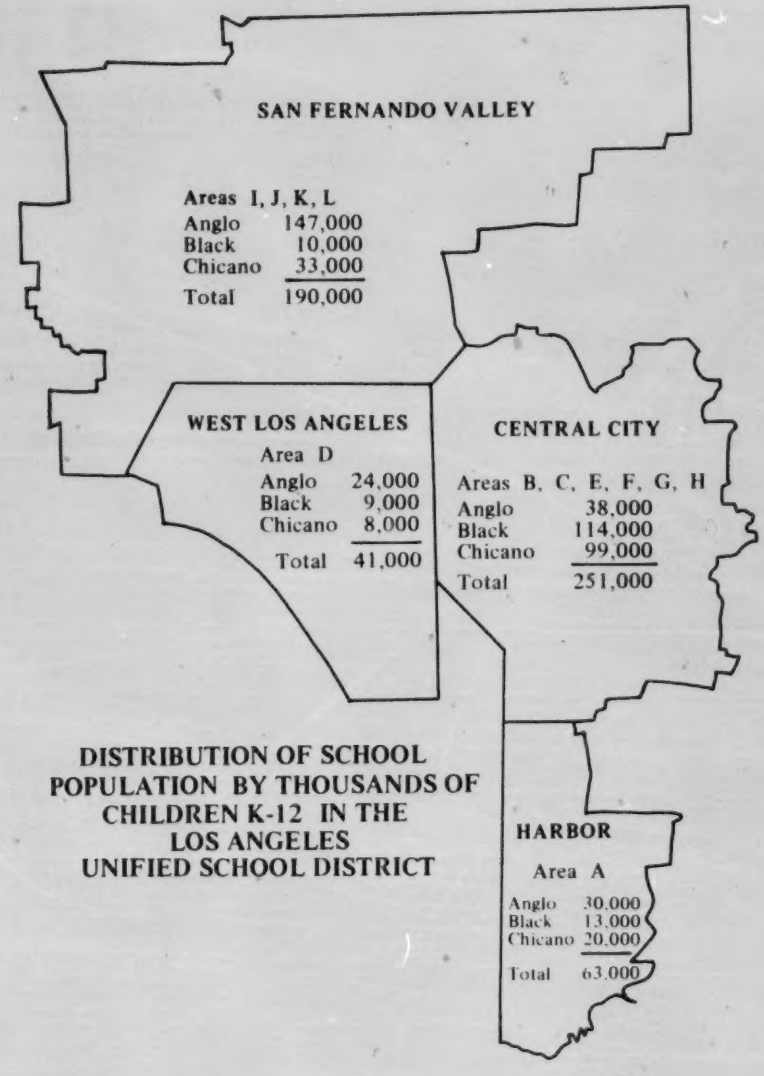
Most people in this country generally consider desegregation a black and white issue. However, although Mary Ellen Crawford, for

MAP 1.



SOURCE: Times Map by Don Clement. Copyright, 1977, Los Angeles Times. Reprinted by Permission.

MAP 2. Distribution of School Population by Thousands of Children K-12 in the Los Angeles Unified School District



SOURCE: Prepared by Vahac Mardirosian, December 10, 1976.

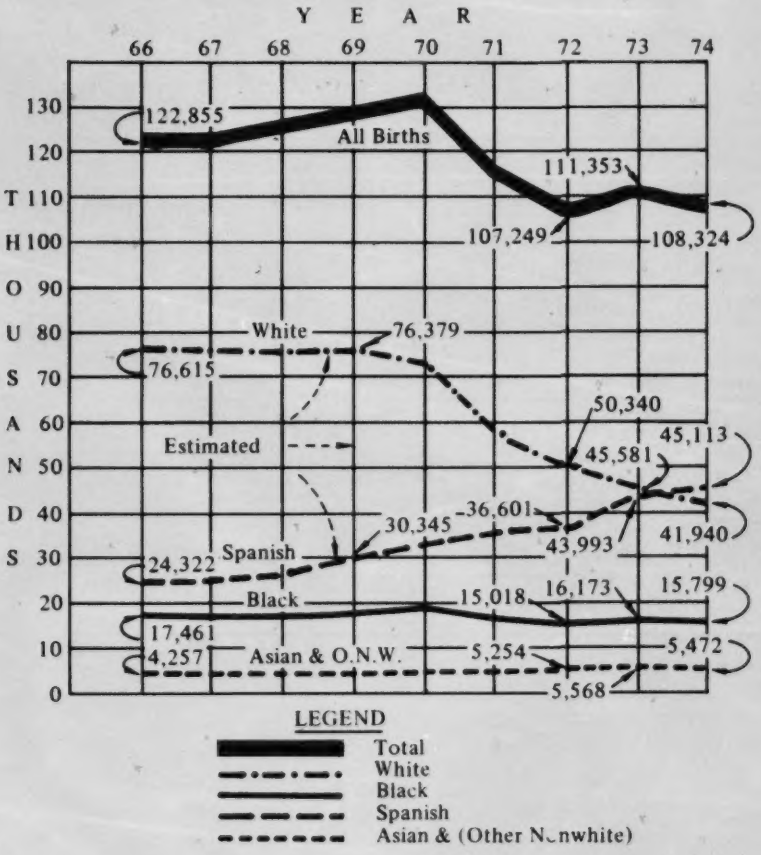
whom the Los Angeles desegregation case is named, is a black, Chicanos were also involved as plaintiffs in the case. In Los Angeles the issue is not simply black versus white. Los Angeles has the largest concentration of Chicanos and Mexicano students of any one school district; and by the district's own projections, by 1980 Chicanos will be the largest single ethnic/racial group of students.

Several factors account for the dramatic increase in the number of Chicano and Mexicano students enrolled in Los Angeles between 1968 and 1975. The enrollment in 1968 was 129,591 or 20 percent of the district's students; in 1975 they increased to 180,262 students or 29.7 percent of the district's students.[59] This population expansion was partly due to immigration and the movement to California of Mexicanos from throughout Mexico. It was also due to the westward movement of Chicanos from various southwestern states. Texas, which had for some time contained 50 percent of the Mexican American population in the Southwest, had lost its emminent position by 1970. California attracted Chicanos from Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and Colorado, so that by 1970 over 50 percent of the Mexican origin population residing in the Southwest lived in California. Los Angeles, with its existing expansive barrios, drew many of these new Chicano and Mexicano residents. Additionally, increased Chicano student enrollment can also be attributed to the high fertility rate of the group. Graph 3 shows the birth rates for four different ethnic/racial groups within the county of Los Angeles. Notable is that the total numbers of births in the county decreased over the eight year period; white and black births declined during that period also. Asian and other nonwhite (principally native American) births increased, but only by 1,215 births. However, the Spanish surname population shows the only significant increase during that eight-year span. That increase is from 24,522 in 1966 to 45,113 in 1974. No other group in Los Angeles county had this consistent and increasing birth rate which obviously provided larger and larger cohorts of Chicano youngsters for the school system.

One other factor which should be considered is the continual decrease of white births in the county. From 76,615 in 1966, the white births dropped to 41,940 in 1974. This indicated that fewer white students would be enrolling in the school system and it also suggests that whites are moving out of the area. "White flight," the phenomenon of whites leaving the central cities and of blacks and Chicanos moving into these urban centers, has been established as a long term trend. It appears that Los Angeles has experienced a

loss of white families that have moved to the suburbs, and an inflow of Chicanos with an attendant increase in births.

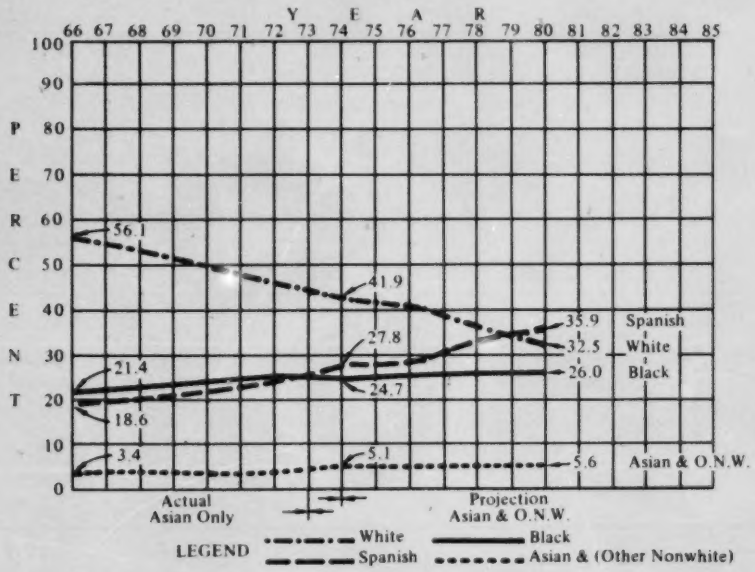
GRAPH 3. Births, Los Angeles County 1966-1974



Graph 4 provides the Los Angeles City School District-wide ethnic/racial enrollment trend, along with a projection of the student composition in 1980. According to the school district's projections, by 1980 the Chicano will constitute 35.9 percent of the total student enrollment in Los Angeles. White students will be second with 32.5 percent; blacks will constitute 26.0 percent and Asian and other non white will be 5.6 percent.

It is vital that with the integration of the school district attention be given to the educational needs of the large Chicano student population. The school district must not only move to alleviate the segregated condition of the schools, which it has failed to do, but it must attend to the linguistic and cultural factors that affect the schooling of the Chicano student.

GRAPH 4. Los Angeles City Schools, District-Wide Ethnic Trend



4
The Chicano/Mexicano Perspective

Chicano parents have indicated, on several occasions, at various meetings in East Los Angeles barrios, that desegregation is not their main educational concern. First and foremost in their minds is the need to establish quality education in barrio schools, and for those schools to meet the educational needs of Chicano youth. Various positions have been taken regarding the logistical plan that the Los Angeles City School system would adopt in order to comply with court ordered desegregation. Chicano community residents, just as Anglos and blacks, have not wholeheartedly accepted busing as part of the desegregation plan. However, providing quality schooling and equal education of opportunity for the young is the principal issue in the Mexican community.

To varying degrees, many Chicanos believe that eliminating segregated schools will improve the quality aspect of schooling, as well as provide for equal educational opportunity. Some argue that equal and quality education for Chicanos will not be attained without desegregating Los Angeles schools. Segregation of Chicanos in "Mexican" schools, or in all-Mexican school districts, has been a reality in our society and has ill-affected the Mexican community. Segregated conditions do not allow the Chicano and other isolated nonwhite minorities to enjoy the same educational opportunities that privileged white and affluent sectors of our society have. Separate school facilities for ethnic/racial groups and white youth are simply not equal; a contention that has been proven by educational research and supported by court decisions.

On the other side, there are Chicanos that disapprove of desegregation because, in their words, "it simply means that Chicanos are going to be bused to all-white schools in order to fail!" If young Chicanos are already failing in barrio schools, desegregation opponents contend, placing them in a school with an 80 percent white student population is not going to assure better academic achievement. Intermixing Chicano and white students is merely glossing over the many schooling problems that Chicanos must contend with.

Some Chicanos have voiced pessimism about desegregation efforts and have argued that Chicano students will be segregated

within white schools. Chicanos will not mingle with the other youth on the campus because they will feel more secure with the other Chicanos that have been bused. Psychologically, the relocation of minority youth may be damaging because of the racism that they will face in the all-white school setting. Chicano parents, in recollecting the treatment that they received while they were in school, strongly argue that they don't want their children having to face the sting of discrimination in their relationships with teachers and students. These parents expect that their children will be discriminated against by Anglo youth that have been socialized to perceive nonwhites in subordinate roles; and that teachers will mistreat the Chicano students because they care little for, and know little about, the linguistic and cultural reality of the ethnic group.

Chicano/Mexicano community residents have voiced support for the desegregation of the Los Angeles City School District, generally with the hope that ending the racial/ethnic isolation will lead to a better understanding among the groups. One expectation, therefore, is that understanding will lead to the acceptance and accommodation of cultural and language differences, that Chicano needs would then be addressed by the schools and that his obvious differences with the Anglo would no longer be considered as deficits. Additionally, there is the expectation that by bringing together Anglo and Mexican youth, the academic motivation and aspirations of the minority youth will be enhanced. However, underlying these expectations is the realization on the part of most Chicanos, that numerical desegregation will not necessarily bring about integration and a peaceful and harmonious exchange between the various racial/ethnic groups. A change in attitudes and perceptions, as well as a serious pledge to provide quality education for the Chicano, and for all students, is needed if integration of the groups is to occur in Los Angeles. This would provide the fundamental basis for generating and implementing a successful integration effort.

By desegregating the schools, the district will take one step toward serving the needs of the Spanish speaking, Spanish surname community. But if the district continues to deliver the previously unsuccessful educational programs, and does not alter its policies and treatment of the 200,000 bilingual/bicultural students, desegregation will remain a "numbers game." Desegregating Los Angeles will improve the quality of schooling for the Chicano only to the degree that the schooling institution restructures itself to properly

meet the needs of Chicano youth. This change should be reflected in the policies and planning set forth by the school board; it should be visible in the actions taken by the school administration; and the activities and efforts of teachers should clearly demonstrate a change in the educational institution vis-à-vis the Chicano.

The following sections of this work provide the views of the Chicano community and the positions taken by Chicano representatives that were intimately involved in the evolution of a desegregation plan.

Interview with Chicano Education Activists

The following interview was conducted on March 21, 1977. The two participants in the discussion have devoted years of service to the Los Angeles community and both have been active members of the Citizens Advisory Committee on Student Integration (CACSI) which was created by the Board of Education in April of 1976. The charge given to CACSI was to develop a "feasible and reasonable" plan for desegregating the school district. Throughout a ten-month period the citizens group deliberated on the issues. Grace Montanez Davis and Vahac Mardirosian, the CACSI members interviewed, provided continual input. Ms. Davis has been serving as the Deputy Mayor for the City of Los Angeles; an appointed position under Mayor Thomas Bradley. She holds the highest appointed office in Los Angeles of any member of the Chicano community. Mr. Vahac Mardirosian is presently the Director of the Hispanic Urban Center; an educational unit in the community that contracts with the school district to provide inservice training to its teaching staff. The training focuses on the educational needs of the Chicano and bilingual/bicultual program implementation. Since 1968, Mardirosian has been regarded as a leader in the field of education and advocate for improvement in the school system.

Interviewer: I'm interested in having your overall perspective on the desegregation issue in the city of Los Angeles.

Mardirosian: As you know, the basic concept in the issue of desegregation is the idea that separate is not equal. In those school districts where the Boards have acted to maintain "equal" schools although separated racially, those minority segregated schools do not perform as well as segregated Anglo schools. The question of improving neighborhood schools, which is where most of the efforts of the Mexican American community in East Los Angeles and in Los Angeles have gone in the past ten years is an important

issue. At least during the last nine years in which I have been a participant we have made consistent efforts to improve school in the barrios. Our question was, how do we improve our own schools? Although some improvement has taken place, the relative position of our children to the children in predominantly Anglo schools remains the same. Where the minority schools in our district moved from the 16 to the 31 percentile in readings on the national scale between 1971 and 1976, during that same period, the Anglo school scores moved from 55 to 66. Anglo children gained 11 points to the minority gain of 15 points, so the minority closed the gap by 4 percentile points over a five year period. The Chicano children who score in the 31 percentile are in a better position relative to the national norm. But being in a better position relative to the national norm doesn't help very much because our children will have to compete in the marketplace of Los Angeles with the Anglo children. As much as we have tried for the last nine years to improve the education in East Los Angeles, we find that the movement for closing the educational gap between the Chicano and Anglo has been very, very small.

I see integration as possibly holding another key to improving quality education. I feel that if Anglo parents see the possibility of having their children integrated into minority schools, that this will develop a new interest in the quality of education of the minority schools that would not otherwise come. If the San Fernando Valley parents feel that their school concerns are in the valley, they have no reason to look at what's happening in the core city. Then our schools on the Eastside are going to suffer. When large numbers of people do not look at what schools are doing, the schools do not do very well.

So integration is an attempt, another methodology, to bring some new awarenesss to the needs of our society. It is another attempt to help prepare adequately the children of the poor to become part of the mainstream, the economic mainstream of the city, rather than to be condemned for generaion after generation to marginal participation. The marginality of the Chicano has consequences not only for the Chicano but also for the larger city. If we look at the large cities of the United States we might note that most of them are in trouble because their economic base is being eroded. If the wealthy or the middle class leave the city and only the poor remain, those cities will suffer dire consequences ten years from now. Supporting the improvement of the educational attainment level of minority schools is in the interest of the larger community . . . I'm not saying that this is the only way in which

we are going to improve our schools, but one way to improve Chicano schools is to have a large number of Anglo middle class parents look at them and become aware of where they are at this time.

Davis: I don't know that I could really expand on what Vahac has said. You know, I think if we had shared this kind of discussion when we first met with the Los Angeles Unified School District Citizens' Advisory Committee on Student Integration CACSI, we might have influenced the committee to a greater degree. It is very difficult for them [CACSI members] to understand our situation. It's not that we are selfish and feel that only the Chicano community should be their concern, but we want to participate and have input into the desegregation efforts in this city. I think Vahac really made the point very well when he was talking about what is happening to the major cities. "White flight" is creating some pressing problems for schools in the urban areas.

We [Chicanos] do not have much economic support and stability, but we have to compete educationally before we can compete economically. In the old days, we always were complaining because we had Chicanos who got educated and then didn't come back to their communities. Well, you know they couldn't come back, what could they come back to? There was nothing there and it was not economically feasible for them. They could not utilize their talent and their higher education. Now, especially since the 1960s, particularly because of the many programs and approaches that were taken to deal with the inner city, there is a real place for educated and trained Chicanos to utilize their skills.

I don't know how the stereotypes of inner city minority schools developed. Those outside our communities think that our children are all like the stereotype. That they are in gangs and that they cause trouble all the time and are always disruptive and fighting. But we have some beautiful children that you can't sterotype. They are not bad. They're human beings and people with the same aspirations and the same desires as anyone else. I think that they're crushed very early in life by people who do not care about them. Very quickly, by the time they are in the fifth grade, they have lost their motivation. They are blocked and stifled in the schools just by being in it. It is really pathetic, and I think that if we do get two-way busing, that those people who come to East L.A. or South Centeral L.A. will suddenly become aware of the fact that all the things we've been saying for years, in terms of the disparity of services provided by Anglo and Chicano schools, is true.

Interviewer: I've been told before that the segregation issue seems to be a black versus white issue and that's the way its perceived by cities that are being affected by court desegregation cases. How is that affecting Los Angeles?

Davis: Well, it's affecting us tremendously because this is true about anything concerning civil rights and anything that involves the discrimination issue. It is always thought of in terms of black and white. Actually, in other cities where you've had some populations that are Spanish surname, it [the population] had not been regarded as significant by the courts. In cities such as Denver and Dallas the Spanish surname community did make an effort to get recognition, but the court, in both cases, decided that there was not a significant number of the population to deal with. The court felt that the Spanish surname needs could be taken care of through whatever desegregation plan was developed. But the reason that desegregation has a tremendous importance for us in Los Angeles is because we are the largest minority in the schools. Sometime during the 1980s we will be half of the school population. So with that consideration and with the recognition that we have specific problems, obviously it's going to be an important issue to get them to recognize that this [desegregation] is a Chicano, black, white, issue. And if we don't get them to do that then the desegregation efforts will not be sucessful for us. I have never heard anybody say this is a Chicano, black, white issue. I have not heard anybody say that. Therefore, the avenue that we are pursuing, in terms of becoming part of a lawsuit [against the district], and of identifying specific needs and requirements of the Spanish surname child is crucial. This may be our last opportunity to grab a handle on the issue of equal education opportunity for Chicanos as far as the Los Angeles School District is concerned. The district has tons and tons of data on Chicano student needs that has been generated by professional people, and by community people, but it is all filed away somewhere. It never comes out, and the people who live here are beginning to recognize this. They make all kinds of demands but their letters and petitions just get received and filed and never considered.

Interviewer: Maybe that's a good lead into the next question that I have in mind regarding the effects that desegregation has on the Mexican community and how it's perceived by ourcommunity. You've already mentioned the notion of quality education as being a principal concern.

Mardirosian: I have to admit that in a typical Chicano home, a poor home where the father makes the minimum wage and where

the mother has to work, the feeling of that mother is that she would be a little more secure in the morning when she goes to work if she knew that her children were five blocks from their home. (This is preferable) than if she goes to work with the knowledge that her children are twenty to thirty miles from her house. This is a natural, normal reaction of parents who want their children to be as close as possible. We cannot get away from that. But, if on the other hand, parents understand that this process of desegregation ultimately will result in a better future for their children, I think that most of our parents would be willing to live with the additional anxiety. They would accept the additional worry of having their children farther away from home if it were for a good cause. Now if the parents are convinced that sending their children twenty-five to thirty miles will result in exactly the same education that that child had when he was in the school next door, logically there really isn't a good reason for that parent to want to cooperate with a desegregation program.

We feel that Mexican parents, our parents, are just as motivated to working as much as they can so that their children will have a better future than they themselves have had, in fact, more so than other parents. It is this realization that may make desegregation or integration work. This district must persuade and must give evidence to our parents that desegregation is a vehicle for improved education, for a higher quality of education for their children. While it may be badly considered by our parents to send their children far, they must also see that it is worse to have their children in schools that do not provide them with a good educational experience. We are not going to become part of the mainstream of society if we accept a subservient position, or a second class citizenship, or schools on the wrong side of the tracks. This will happen if we say "leave us alone because we're happy where we are and we don't want to be moved." If we accept that kind of attitude we're never going to get anywhere. But I am convinced that most Chicanos, and most people who come to this country, come with the idea of improving themselves. Therefore, I feel that when a district is mandated to produce better schools through integration, that the Chicano community will cooperate.

Davis: One thing that is important to note is that the Chicano community of Los Angeles is at many different levels of development. There are the recent immigrants who have come within the last five years or so. They are getting to know the social structure of the society. Many have not even been exposed to English or they are just learning it. And then you have people who are

second, third and fourth generation born here. Hopefully, it will be understood that there is diversity represented here and that our community should not be stereotyped as being all the same. We have many professional and middle class Mexican Americans who have somehow gotten through the system. Maybe because they were GIs they were able to get to get into school and they are now professionals or businessmen. If they have children, their whole outlook on the question of desegregation is different because they've had different aspirations for their children, and their kids have been exposed to a different life than the other Mexican American kids from the barrios. We also have children whose parents are products of the school systems that we're addressing right now. Let me tell you that's very important because the parents don't have any faith in the school district. They don't have any communication with the school district. They don't want any part of the school district because their experience, as a Chicano in the school district, was very negative, and I'm one of those parents. It was a traumatic experience to have my children go to public school because I remembered leaving public school in the sixth grade and starting Catholic school. All of a sudden I realized what education was because Catholic schools were of better quality. So for me to send my children to public school is traumatic. And I have the resources to affect the school, but how about parents who don't. They must feel thoroughly frustrated. Our people don't even have the same aspirations as the typical Anglo. The Anglos aspire to be President. They aspire to be the corporation head and what have you. I think unless we're in that third generation group of Mexican Americans that our aspirations are to have that good employment, good living conditions and good health care, supposedly the basics provided to citizens in the United States. To most Chicanos those are the objectives that we aspire to gain.

As we become mobile we become aware of what the system has to offer and we begin to participate in the system and gain some benefits. But basically, Chicanos want an education and economic stability within the structure.

Interviewer: Well, under what conditions do you think that the majority of the Mexican population in the city would support desegregation policy implementation? What type of conditions do you think there should be?

Mardirosian: (1) If it is the law of the land. In this case there is a court order. (2) The plan must be widely supported by the power structure. (3) The plan must be construed as being fair and

equitable for everyone. It has to be perceived that it is fair. (4) The plan must also give a better product than what we have now and there has to be something added in the way of quality education beyond what we have today. (5) A very wide publicity campaign is also needed to persuade the Chicano community that integration ultimately will result in better schools for their children. At least those five points occurred to me.

Davis: The only thing I would add is that we should start demanding some guarantees for quality schooling. If somebody identified the schools, minority schools, that are reading below the norm scores, this would be meaningful. We have tried for five or six years to improve the schools from within. So continued low reading scores would indicate something. If somebody were to point out to me that the school that my child is attending is regarded as a poor quality school and that integration would change it, I might push for desegregation. We have to demand to have information from the institution. I want an accounting in terms of the effectiveness of the educational system in regard to my child. And you know, we don't really know completely about the drastic conditions that exist. If we did we would have widespread change in attitudes among people. I constantly use my own experience; I have children who are supposedly doing well in public school and yet they're having to learn in college the things they should have learned in high school.

Interviewer: It may be a separate point, but would evaluation and assessment of the ongoing program be an important concern?

Davis: Well, I think we do get some reporting on it. For example, we get statewide reading scores published every once in awhile in the newspapers. They do publish the scores for the kids, but there is not opportunity for interacting with the school principal or meeting the teachers. They'll tell you they have open house and all that but you know they don't really discuss important issues regarding children. There has got to be something else that accounts for the fact that the teacher is or is not using time well. Again, they'll come back and tell you the very large classroom size, lack of materials, and all kinds of problems contribute to the low achievement of Chicano students. However, I have been told by teachers for instance, that when they got additional monies for the school, the funding went for administration instead of putting it into more teachers. In one school, for example, two vice-presidents, one for the boys and one for the girls, were hired and their major job, when dealing with teachers, has been to look at the weekly attendance books and to criticize how those records

are kept, that's all. So the teachers end up spending an hour and a half on weekends implementing these little suggestions about how to better keep attendance. But the important thing is the child and we shouldn't be taking time away from the teacher when they should be working with the kids. We can't be critical of teachers across the board; we do have teachers who have the desire to be really good teachers.

Interviewer: As part of the fourth condition you mentioned would you include bilingual/bicultural programs?

Mardirosian: Yes, the enhancement and the expansion of bilingual/bicultural programs. Let me give you the bilingual/bilcultural picture in this school district. The Los Angeles district has approximately 600,000 children, of which one-third are Mexican American or Spanish surname children. Of these maybe around 80,000 need bilingual/bicultural education; well, everybody needs bilingual/bicultural education, but these particular children are either non-English speaking (NES) or limited-English speaking (LES), so some instruction in Spanish would be highly desirable for a time. It would be totally essential for the non-English speaking. Now of those 80,000 who need bilingual classes, [need them], less than half are getting anything, including even ESL [English as a Second Language instruction]. Only six schools are bilingual schools [in the district], so only maybe 5,000 out of the 80,000 are getting bilingual education at the primary level. Several thousand, maybe twenty or twenty-five thousand are getting some ESL but then there are many thousands who are not in any language program.

Interviewer: Mary Berdick of the Western Center on Law and Poverty was able to compute about 63,063 LES and NES out of the Chacon survey. She found that 28,138 were in ESL programs and 7,403 were in bilingual programs.

Mardirosian: That's a year old, that's why I say there are about 80,000 LES and NES. Also we have found that the identification of the language needs of students varies in the surveys. For example, two schools in East Los Angeles may be side by side and they can be given the same question: How many children do you have that are either non-English or limited English speaking? One principal may say that only about one-fifth of the children in his school are LES and NES. And a few blocks away, another principal may report that 90 percent of his children need bilingual schooling. So we don't know how many actually need it. The Chacon survey showing 66,000 may be on the low side. Our students with language needs are grossly undercounted.

Interviewer: Do you know the basis of determining the number of LES or NES?

Mardirosian: They haven't a regular or uniform criteria. They have no measurement tools. They don't have a language test. So if the principal says, "Well I might have 10 percent of my students with needs," it may not be correct. But most principals don't want to get into the hassle of a language survey knowing that they're not going to get the help anyway because the district does not have the bilingual/bicultural personnel to man the classes.

Davis: From the little contact I've had with the bilingual programs I have been very disturbed because they have been done in isolation. They are removed from the rest of the curriculum and they are not tied in. The child is isolated from the rest of the school when he goes into these so-called bilingual classes. In the grammer schools I notice they pull them out, say second period in their program. That second period may happen to be their math period so they're not getting math because instead of the math they're getting the English as a Second Language or the bilingual class. The children are treated as being different and "different" always means that they are regarded as the slow learners.

Interviewer: This issue, I guess, is how closely the L.A. city school's program of bilingual/bicultural education matches the ideal bilingual/bicultural education model that has been established. If they call ESL their bilingual/bicultural program then they're as far away from the ideal bilingual/bicultural education program as they can be. That they simply have a pull-out program implemented in a school means that they're very distant from a true bilingual program. The bilingual/bicultural model I refer to is basically that which was developed by HEW as part of the Lau remedies to implement the Lau decision. Those remedies are very comprehensive.

Mardirosian: When you have a 200,000 student population with Spanish surnames, a district must make radical changes in the way in which they conduct business, if they are going to be fair to that large population. The number of Mexican American children in Los Angeles would constitute the third largest district in the entire United States, 200,000 children in one school district. This year, 1977, with the new kindergarten class of about 40,000 children, about 45 percent of the children have Spanish surnames. By 1980 there will be more than half of the entering students with Spanish surnames.

So we need a massive reallocation of resources, of personnel, and of technology to really gear up to becoming a bilingual/

bicultural school district. We are a country mile away from it at the present time.

Interviewer: Getting closer to the question of how the desegregation plan was formulated for the district: what did you think of the approach taken by the school board? What about the Citizens Advisory Committee on Student Integration [CACSI]?

Mardirosian: I feel that the CACSI plan very well represented the interest of the city and that CACSI wrestled with the desegregation question and came up with a few conclusions. One conclusion was that there shall not be one-race schools in the district. The district [School Board] rejected that notion and said that as an idea, they would like, in so far as it's possible, that there be no one-race schools in the district. CACSI proceeded to prepare a plan that would *eliminate* one-race schools and would affect the many schools that are 80 percent or more minority or 80 percent or more white. Those racially isolated schools are very far from one another geographically, and economically. So the CACSI plan represents, in my opinion, an honest effort to bridge the gap between the segregated schools. But the district rejected the idea of a forty-five minute limit on transportation. They, instead, adopted a much shorter travel time and the learning center concept which simply put minority and white children together for a very short period during their school experience. This would give the youth a "feel" for being with other children during nine weeks, but it would not do anything to actually bring new student populations to one-race schools.

I support the peaceful implementation of whatever plan is court mandated. I also feel that the district does have a point in their assessment of the situation. If they propose to do too much too quickly they will have a very strong, and maybe violent reaction, from the white community. This will result in intensified white flight and violence and will not be in the interest of the children. So I am saying let's try what the district finally has mandated by the court and let's build from there. I do not take the approach that if we do not desegregate all of the schools by September of 1977, we have failed to achieve a plan of integration. I feel, as a responsible member of the community, that it is in the interest of the children to take the first step and then another step, and another step. I intend to cooperate with our community group of citizens in the peaceful implementation of whatever is court mandated.

Interviewer: What did you think of the CACSI approach?

Mardirosian: The CACSI approach, the idea of having citizens

that are representative of the general population of the school district working on the development of a desegregation plan has been tried before in other cities planning desegregation. The difficulties with the CACSI approach in Los Angeles was that the district board of education did not get itself involved in the committee work. They just created that committee and left it out there in left field. They let us generate all this activity, interest and emotion and everything else that was associated with drafting a desegregation plan. We [CACSI] came to some obvious conclusions after long deliberation; and you know they're very honest conclusions because I've never seen people who devoted themselves so entirely to a project. I mean they really went out and looked at these facilities that we've been talking about all these years. They looked at them and noted the disparity in terms of buildings and materials and everything else provided for white schools vs. minority schools. I think we made a lot of progress within CACSI in terms of enlightening people who had no exposure to this sort of [educational inequality] before that time. They better understood what is needed in the city of Los Angeles and in the school district.

The difficulty with CACSI was that the Board did not provide the resources that were necessary [for CACSI to complete its work]. They should have been honest and come forward early and told us [CACSI] "you know, we are talking about feasible and reasonable. Okay, what you're proposing is not feasible, is not reasonable within what we [the Board] consider as reasonable and feasible." I think that if they had been honest about that and had joined with the committee from the very beginning then we probably would have had a plan that we all might have agreed on. I think we probably would have had a plan we could truly have said was being supported by the Citizens Committee, CACSI, and the Board and everybody else.

Interviewer: I guess that's two things, (1) the lack of community-school interaction, and (2) that it is a political football, the desegregation question.

Mardirosian: I think that the school Board shied away from the CACSI plan because of what they heard out there during their public community meetings, especially what they heard from Anglos. In one of the school Board plans they restricted travel time to twenty minutes for students. This travel time restriction would not have allowed us to affect most of the more than 300 racially isolated schools. Even their nine-week experience would only touch 15 percent of those schools. So that all the really

isolated schools would remain totally isolated under their plan. By adding ten minutes to travel time, making it thirty minutes, they may have included seventy segregated schools instead of fifty. But again, the list that I saw of the racially isolated schools that would not be involved in the Board of Education desegregation plan is three times longer than the one that lists the schools that will be involved.

Interviewer: Even though they are highly segregated schools?

Mardirosian: Yes, of course, the schools I am talking about are the most segregated schools. They are the ones that are 75 percent plus segregated of one race or ethnic group.

Davis: You know, I think this raises the question of accountability of the schools, and this also raises another question that has been raised before regarding the size of the district. That it is so big that they [the school Board] cannot be accountable to those citizens that vote and supposedly pay taxes. They [the Board] can get away with not responding to the people because the district is so big.

Mardirosian: Well, unfortunately the only way the district could be broken up would be to have a Valley and City School District. If you do that, then you end up with 90 percent minority schools in the city and 90 percent white in the valley.

Davis: Creating smaller school districts wouldn't be addressing integration but would be addressing quality education.

Mardirosian: Well, there are not many examples of all black schools that have quality education.

Interviewer: By that do you mean districts or schools?

Mardirosian: I mean districts. For good or for bad, quality education is influenced by the middle class. Teachers have been educated and prepared by white educators and they consequently have the same handicaps as white middle class instructors. They cannot produce a reasonably good product with poverty children. This is an issue that goes beyond the question of ethnicity. We just don't know how to teach the children of the poor. Whether we are black or white we don't know how to teach these children. So, although politically we will have a little more clout, technologically we just do not have the tools at this time to successfully school poor minority children. Maybe there will be a technological revolution in the schools – but they have been unable to deal effectively with blacks and Chicanos. Washington, D.C. is 90 percent black, or Detroit which has a high percentage of black administrators and black superintendents, are not providing quality schooling for minorities. Those children are not any better off

than the [Chicano] children in East Los Angeles or [black children] in South Central Los Angeles. The education of the poor or the minority is not a priority in this district because they don't have the technology to provide quality education.

Davis: That's right. We don't have the applied technology. The technology is not developed or it is not being made available in this district.

Interviewer: Very well, why can't they apply the new educational technology?

Davis: Because the value system of our society is not conducive. In other words, we live in a society that does not respect cultural and language differences.

Mardirosian: But even in a district where you have a hundred percent poor and minority, and you have an administration and teaching staff that is also minority, there will still be problems. The school people and the community will still be separated. They will be separated by socioeconomic differences, group loyalties, different aspiration levels, and because the educators have been trained by the same colleges that prepare all teachers.

Interviewer: I believe the court, [the] California State Supreme Court, noted that a school or district could be labeled or branded as racially segregated and that there would be a racial/class identification of that school if it were a poor school or district, or serviced only the poor. If it is identified as a lower class school, a lower class district, the effect would be the same as with segregation. You would have very low student achievement. So, you know, in addition to our intention of providing bilingual/bicultural school programs, we must also assure that our schools do not get branded as the isolated poor, low achieving schools.

What is needed to develop a good, a sound, and an equitable desegregation plan? What kinds of things are needed?

Mardirosian: Well, I mentioned five points. I think that what is needed is the support of the community, the political power structure has to be behind it, and we need a plan that is equitable and that is perceived as being equitable. A plan that encourages everybody to get on the bandwagon and support it. I have concluded that, at first, the plan will have to be less than ideal. It will be a compromise plan but we must support whatever the court mandates at this time. The opposition [to desegregation], will not come from us, it will come from [segments of] the white community. We must be willing to work as a total community because integration has to do with getting together. If we end up with an attitude that we want to remain isolated from each other then

we're not going to get integration. We must be willing to enter into a negotiated settlement with people who have different views, and we must make a sincere effort to get cooperation. The district has to work with the minority community and the white community, with the power structure, and with the teachers and everyone else in order to orchestrate the integration plan.

Davis: Ideally, regardless of the plan, regardless of whatever kind of superficial approach they may take, if I felt that there was a commitment to integration, particularly on the part of the [school] administration, I think I would have a different kind of feeling. Because if there was a commitment, it wouldn't make any difference what the beginning desegregation plan was because, as you said, we have all these different elements in the community and in order to minimize any possibility of disruption of any kind, I would go with whatever was well received and was started. Knowing that at the very end, regardless of how long it took, it involved a commitment and the intention that this district would end up being an integrated district. Because they would have to give and start with a basic stance and it would expand itself until everybody was involved. I think that it would be very worthwhile getting the kind of support Vahac was talking about. It would really be worthwhile because anything that we do will not work without a commitment; a commitment to desegregation from the community overall. A commitment that must be on a continuous basis. Regardless of the court mandate there are ways, as we know, of getting around the implementation of these mandates. Programs can be diluted, as bilingual programs have been diluted, so that they're not effective. So it's going to be a constant vigil, in terms of what we find, what we see, what we need. We must have a constant vigil to assure that change occurs and that our educational needs are met.

Mardirosian: The desegregation of Los Angeles will require a vigil on the part of the people who have become aware. And, you know, I think we have a developing group of people that have become interested. This is one issue that has aroused people that have never reacted before on educational matters. They saw the reading scores that appeared in the newspaper and they may have said something to themselves, you know, in their home but they have never really become involved in educational reform. One example is the response to the community meetings on desegregation. They were not heavily publicized, and it was not certain that many residents would attend those meetings, but many did come. I think that we have enough parents with children in grades one

through grades twelve so that we have a strong constituency in the Chicano community.

Interviewer: Well, what about the schooling institution represented by the school board, a board that has fought a [desegregation] court case for three or four years before they actually took the case to court. How do people react to the board or an institution that fought desegregation for some thirteen or fourteen years?

Mardirosian: What's important is where they are now. The fact that the district fought the court case for the last twenty years, the fact that the district's actions made it [segregation] worse and that the Los Angeles City School District is more segregated now than in 1963, those are the underlying conditions that have existed. But today the superintendent says we are going to present this plan to the court and we are going to start implementing all of it. We are going to do voluntary desegregation between September and February and if we don't get enough numbers moved, in February we are going to start mandatory desegregation. These are actions, and these are movements that show how different it is today from thirteen years ago. So, I want to get away from the bag of deprecating the past. I want to move with what we have today and I want to enhance our chances of getting the benefits of desegregated schools. That's a device for raising the quality of the schools that we have in the district. The school district has said that those schools that are not going to be integrated because of the large distances, that they [the district] are prepared to introduce new programs to begin to raise the quality of education. So I'm looking to the future and we are working with the hope that we will work together in establishing patterns, in establishing criteria, in establishing minimum standards, in being eternally vigilant because we want improvements to happen. I don't want to wring my hands and say, "Why didn't they do it twenty years or thirty years ago?" That depends on what we do [here in Los Angeles] today.

Davis: I think there is another point to look at too, and that is the political question. Look at the politieal power structure. People have been looking at the deliberations of the school board and have noticed that Chicanos do not have a strong voice. It would have been great to have had a Vahac Mardirosian on that Board. A person who is going to continue to relate to the very basic problems, you know, the reading scores, the bilingual programs, and of having good educational personnel. So, I just think that at this point in time we would have liked to have had a very strong person up there on the school board. I saw the morning

paper where Julian Nava, [school board member] said that he will be a plaintiff in a suit against the school district if the district did not implement and expand our bilingual/bicultural programs, and he was being quoted at that. So there's not much of a distance between Julian's and our position. His approach is different.

Mardirosian: He is an individual on that board and if he takes a position by himself it will be no real value to our community. He will lose because you need to work within the ground rules of the school board operation. We simply need more representatives on the school board.

But the main question, the main reason why the board hasn't gone any further on the question of desegregation is simply that this city, the Anglos of this city, would not go very far to desegregate the schools. The board is a little bit ahead of the community at large, let's face it. And in a short time we'll see the consequences of this [desegregation issue] when the population votes. In every case where a major desegregation plan has been adopted, the consequences have been a change of superintendent and a change in the school board.

Interviewer: What about court approval of the desegregation plan?

Mardirosian: Well, I think that the court will order a plan of integration for Los Angeles.

Interviewer: Do you think it will be the March 1977 plan that the board has adopted?

Mardirosian: No.

Davis: No.

Mardirosian: There will not be. I don't think approval of the March school board plan.

Davis: Well, can you answer that question right now? We are not sure if the Judge is going to buy what he has been offered [the plan of the school district].

Mardirosian: Well, the learning centers may survive but not the limitations that the district has imposed in its own plan. The plan simply only affects 15 percent of the schools that need desegregation. I don't think that any Judge will buy that, especially after the ACLU [working with the plaintiffs] in the Crawford case graphically demonstrate that. That's why I'm saying that the Judge is not going to buy, lock, stock and barrel, the school board plan. He will buy some of the concepts, yes, but he will expand on the plan.

Davis: You know, I think the board will look at some of the earlier proposals.

Interviewer: And do you think that they'll again address the CACSI plan?

Mardirosian: Oh, it will be used as background. I think that the CACSI plan is a little too ambitious for where the city is today. It is way ahead of the population at large. It's a good plan, theoretically it's just.

Davis: You know, even that is a compromise.

Interviewer: A compromise of 114 people or so?

Davis: Well, because the original plan that CACSI submitted was changed after we started to meet with the board. When we met with board members Robert Doctor and Julian Nava, when we started communicating, they started telling us [what would or would not pass the board]. The board members let us know they just couldn't get four votes [to pass the orginal CACSI plan]. So then it really got watered down considerably compared to what we originally wanted.

Mardirosian: We thought we had the four votes. CACSI thought that they had four votes because we were banking on Diane Watson and Bob Doctor, who were the only ones that we could count on. For the other two votes we were actually banking on three votes, on Julian Nava, Kathleen Rice and possibly Bardos, because the other guy flatout said that he was against busing from the word go. But then the five we thought we could harness into support of the CACSI plan began to pull back. When Rice pulled back, well then Bardos pulled; and then Julian found out that he was going to still be in the minority. They then started to horse trade.

Interviewer: That was an open board meeting, right?

Davis: Oh, yes.

(*End of Interview*)

Since there have not been extensive Los Angeles community surveys of the various ethnic/racial groups it would be difficult to establish the position of the Chicano/Mexicano population with regard to the continuing desegregation activities in Los Angeles. However, important information has been obtained through the above interview and in discussions with other community residents. Both Ms. Grace Montanez Davis and Mr. Vahac Maridrosian as longstanding Mexican American leaders, involved with educational reform and planning desegregation for the school district are well aware of the fears and attitudes of the ethnic community on the issues related to school desegregation. Therefore, the observa-

tions they have made may provide meaningful insights that reflect the Chicano/Mexicano perspective on school desegregation.

Davis and Mardirosian concluded that several conditions would have to be met in order for the school district to gain support for whatever plan was approved and to successfully implement school desegregation. The conditions included that:

1. The desegregation plan must be mandated by the court, and it must, by law, apply to all who reside in the district.
2. The plan must be strongly endorsed and supported by a cross section of governmental agencies, elected officials, and community organizations throughout the school district.
3. There must be an extensive community relations program to inform the public and to garner their support. The residents of the school district must be shown that the desegregation plan is fair, equitable and that they are not being victimized.

Meeting the above conditions should be considered necessary steps in order to assure that the school district develops general public support for desegregation activities. However, Davis and Mardirosian established additional conditions that relate directly to the Chicano/Mexicano community. Mardirosian, for example, noted that desegregation efforts should include improvements in the quality of education provided for ethnic minority students. Whatever school reforms have been won by the Chicano must be maintained, and bilingual/bicultural education should be expanded, not only for the ethnic and language minority, but for all students in the district. These quality improvements, according to Davis, must be guaranteed to the minority community and continual evaluation of the school program should be maintained to assure that quality education is being provided.

Deputy Mayor Grace Davis also contended that in order to gain Chicano/Mexicano support for desegregation activities the schools would have to become more responsive to that community. Presently, the ethnic group is not significantly involved in the school policy and decision making process. If the school district does not make the necessary changes, and Chicanos continue to have minimal input, the schools will remain inattentive to the educational needs of the Chicano – regardless of the desegregation of the schools.

Although there are Chicano residents that have argued vehemently against desegregation and the busing of children, most residents appear to be hopeful that school desegregation will be

peacefully accomplished. However, as Mardirosian and Davis propose, Chicano/Mexicano support for school integration would be enhanced if the ethnic group played a meaningful role in guiding and operating the school system. As long as this sizeable population is only peripherally involved in school matters, even on issues such as desegregation, the future may bring conflict and discord in the schools – not integration of the ethnic and racial groups.

Both Davis and Mardirosian predicted that the initial desegregation plan submitted to the court by the school board would not be approved. On July 6, 1977, their prediction was realized. Superior Judge Paul Egly rejected the plan and ordered the school board to develop a plan or plans which would realistically commence the desegregation of the district no later than February, 1978. In many respects the Davis and Mardirosian criticisms of the board plan were echoed by the judge. It is probable that their other observations will hold true as well.

Chicano Criticism of Desegregation Planning

On Tuesday, February 8, 1977, a community hearing, sponsored by the Mexican American Bar Association, was held in East Los Angeles. During this hearing, Chicano activists charged that Spanish surname students had been overlooked in the planning for school integration. Various witnesses indicated that CACSI had shown little consideration for the Chicano community during the first eight months of deliberations for the development of a desegregation plan.

Only twelve of the 114 members appointed to the Citizens Advisory Committee were Spanish surname, although over 30 percent of the school district students were Spanish surname. During the hearing, several of the Chicano members of CACSI pointed to the problems that they had encountered in trying to make CACSI aware of Chicano concerns. ". . .They showed a lack of consideration for us," said Ms. Maria Montes, "But it was really a lack of respect. We constantly had to remind them [CACSI], 'Hey – we're here!' We're the largest minority in this district. How many times do we have to say that."[60] Another CACSI member, Rose Lopez, complained about the lack of understanding of Chicano school needs among those that support desegregation. "I'm pro integration only with guarantees for the largest student population in Los Angeles."[61]

Deputy Mayor Grace Davis also noted that it was a frustrating and "continuous struggle to get them [other CACSI members] to

even accept that we had a different point of view." As a consequence, in addition to the formal CACSI group sessions, including formal subcommittee meetings, the Chicano members of CACSI also met informally in the community. They asked and received assistance from a few educators and lawyers, and invited members of the community, including other minority residents, to cooperate in developing a stance on desegregation for the district. After eight months of deliberation, the Chicano CACSI members requested that a formal subcommittee of the Citizens Advisory Committee be formed that would focus on Chicano concerns. Formation of the subcommittee was approved, and within a one-month period seven Chicano members of CACSI, with other interested community residents, produced a position and policy statement.

The statement formed the basis for the generation of a series of recommendations that were submitted by the Chicano subcommittee to CACSI. These recommendations clearly show the various concerns of the Chicano community and, along with the subcommittee position and policy statement, provide the school district, the Board of Education and the School Administration with a detailed listing of the commitments that Chicanos want from the school system.

Chicano Recommendations for Desegregation

Although Chicano CACSI members argued that "they were ordered by CACSI leaders to water down their final presentation so that it would fit in with the preliminary report prepared by the citizens' committee,"[62] the Chicano group was generally satisfied with the desegregation criteria adopted. The recommendations made regarding the desegregation plan were:[63]

1. The integrity of bilingual and/or culturally relevant programs should not be violated. And, in a manner consistent with AB 2284 (The Chacon Act), applicable in elementary and junior high schools, we request that no less than twenty Spanish speaking children per class level be assigned to any school for integration purposes. We fully recognize that AB 1329 (The Chacon-Moscone Act) requires the provision of a bilingual program when there are at least ten or more limited-English speaking students per grade level. The minimum lower bound of twenty is to guard against any drops below the mandated ten, and to maintain a group support base consonant with the critical mass concept (20 percent).

2. Identify by objective and consistent means all students in its schools whose primary or home language is other than English, and determine each student's primary language and degree of facility in that language and in English. Such a determination must be made by a person who is linguistically and culturally familiar with the primary language of each student. (We request that the standards for such assessment be published by the school district).
3. Diagnose the linguistic and educational needs of each student thus identified as non-English or limited-English speaking, and prescribe and provide educational services which assure that each student's academic achievement is not impeded by lack of English language facility.
4. Assure that no such student is placed in a program inappropriate to his or her educational need (i.e. special instruction, speech therapy, etc.) solely on the basis of a lack of English language facility and a need for special language assistance (this should preclude erroneous EMR placements); and assure that no such student who is underachieving academically for reasons other than a lack of English language facility is denied educational services provided to English speaking students with comparable educational needs.
5. Provide all students who are diagnosed as needing special language assistance with programs designed to meet such needs as expeditiously as possible at their appropriate grade levels. Within such programs, the use of peer tutors, bilingual paraprofessionals, and parent volunteers is generally regarded as supplementary to, but not adequate substitute for, direct instruction by certificated, bilingual teachers. These programs must:
    - 5.1 Permit such students to progress at their grade level in all subjects other than English while needed English language ability is acquired.
    - 5.2 Promptly and demonstrably remediate any academic deficits in subject areas other than English which may have resulted from the district's failure to provide educational or linguistic services adequate to the needs of such students.
    - 5.3 Not result in racially/ethnically identifiable or isolated classes for more of the school day than is essential to the educational purpose being served; (nor does the provision of such programs justify the creation or maintenance of racially/ethnically identifiable or isolated schools).

6. Assure that any intelligence, aptitude, or achievement tests administered to students whose primary or home language is other than English do not discriminate against such students on the basis of their language background or competency, and that the test results are not skewed by, or essentially a measure of, the student's lack of English language skills.
7. That Chicano children have parity in academic achievement. (It is insulting to know that science is taught in our westside elementary schools but not in our eastside elementary schools – we suspect this is true of other Chicano schools.)
8. That the method of instruction be specifically designed to suit the needs of students of different racial/ethnic cultures.
9. That curriculum build upon content and materials which are culturally related to the student (sociopsychological patterns, history, literature, music, food, etc.). This of course means that all curriculum materials (textbooks, films, etc.) have a balanced as well as a positive portrayal of racial/ethnic minorities.
10. That counselors demonstrate an ability to work with Chicano students and that counseling competence include an understanding of the culture and language of the Chicano child.
11. That notice of meetings, information on instructional programs, school policies, and practices be disseminated in printed form (in languages other than English where necessary).
12. That racial/ethnic minority professional employees (teachers, administrators, supervisors) at all levels be proportional to the racial/ethnic minority composition of the students in each school.
13. That integration is a two-way process that will allow other ethnic youngsters the opportunity to receive a bilingual and bicultural experience in a predominantly Mexican American community.
14. That the selection of children who might be moved for integration purposes be randomly selected. The Chicano subcommittee agreed that random selection means that all students in a school have the same chance to be selected as any other child in that school. Students who have medical problems should be exempted.
15. That school facilities (physical plants, land area, etc.) in minority areas be equal to those in "white" areas.
16. That school classrooms in minority populated areas be no more crowded than school classrooms in "white" populated areas.

17. That schools, no matter their racial/ethnic makeup, provide equal access to up-to-date courses and educational materials pertinent to the development of professional skills and equal access to school facilities (e.g., library, gym, swimming pool, etc.)
18. That special programs be provided in any school which has a disproportionate number of racial/ethnic minority students academically performing below established norms.
19. That schools in all areas be made available for use by parents, students and community groups after school.
20. That ESEA Title I monies be spent, in accordance with Federal regulations, benefiting low income students and requiring parental involvement.
21. That provisions be made to cover special fees for academic, social, and extra curricular services for those students who cannot afford them.
22. That programs be developed and supported for counselors, teachers and administrators which inculcates similarly high academic and occupational expectations for students from all racial/ethnic groups. Interpersonal/intercultural skills training, involving school personnel, parents, students and community, should be supported in this regard. The development of all human relations programs, staff development and curriculum shall involve affected parents and members of the community in proportionate ethnic racial numbers.
23. That procedures be developed to maintain the anonymity of students who are assisted by any meal program.
24. That procedures be developed to insure that student government positions and honorary positions are representative of the racial/ethnic composition of the schools. Also, that awarded scholarships be allocated on the same basis.
25. That provisions be made for clubs (to include racial/ethnic groups) which are desired by students and open to all students.
26. That staff and administration be required to schedule social events and hold all parental meetings at times and places convenient to all, including students when appropriate, and be further required to maintain a "welcome at any time policy to all segments of the community."
27. That each school hire an ombudsman to help parents and students solve their problems with the school.

28. That due process be a part of any disciplinary action.
29. That any significantly disproportionate number of racial/ethnic minority students under suspension in a school be subject to investigation and the results thereof be made public.

Conflicting Desegregation Plans

According to Vahac Mardirosian, the recommendations of the Chicano subcommittee were generally adopted by CACSI and incorporated in the plan submitted to the Board of Education. The CACSI plan, the result of eleven months of work, was finalized and called for the elimination of segregation in 198 elementary schools that were judged to be severely segregated. It was calculated that this would require the reassignment of some 86,500 elementary students, with the majority being moved through mandatory busing.

The CACSI plan was described in the following manner:

> The committee proposals would result in full-time, not part-time, desegregation, and they would include students in grades one to twelve, not just grades four to nine, as does the board plan.
>
> The committee plan describes several techniques that might be used to integrate elementary schools but leans toward school pairings – that is, students from one white school and one minority school might attend the first, second and third grades at one of the schools, then shift to the other for grades four, five and six.
>
> The committee's plan contains no specific suggestions for desegregation of junior or senior high schools but suggests that this would follow naturally from the reorganization of elementary schools.[64]

However, during the March meetings of the Board of Education, that was producing the desegregation plan for submission to the court, little attention was paid to the CACSI recommendations. In fact, according to newspaper accounts, "it did not appear that the citizens group would be permitted to present its plan to the board."[65] But, Dr. Nava, board president, evidently persuaded his colleagues to hear the CACSI report.

Attorney Raymond C. Fisher, chairman of the CACSI planning subcommittee, stated, "When the board got our proposal in January they turned it down within a week and never paid attention to it again."[66]

With little reference to the CACSI plan, the March 1977 Board of Education plan has been called a "limited plan." The crucial elements of the plan that were submitted to Superior Judge Paul Egly included:

Time Limitation: On March 3, the board had set a twenty-minute busing limit, but the final plan imposed a thirty-minute limit for elementary programs, and thirty-five minutes for junior and senior high schools. Critics of the time limit restriction argued that it "would exclude about 186 segregated schools from mandatory desegregation."[67]

Scope: The board plan named seventy-eight segregated elementary schools at which grades four through six would be desegrated starting February 1978, if approved by the court. This would mean that 186 elementary schools of the 264 which are considered segregated, would not be touched by the plan. Another 171 primary level schools of the 435 elementary schools in the district, are considered integrated.[68]

Method: The seventy-eight targeted elementary schools would be grouped into educational planning units of two to six schools each. The schools would then have until February 1978 to devise voluntary desegregation plans for grades four through six. Mandatory desegregation would occur if less than fifty of the seventy-eight target schools did not provide acceptable desegregation plans. The mandatory program would require busing students to "specialized integrated learning centers" for a minimum of nine weeks a year.

Eighth grade junior high students would be affected by desegregation in September 1978. The same process used to desegregate primary schools would be used for the secondary levels. Voluntary methods first, and if that did not succeed, mandatory attendance at the learning centers would be imposed.

Overall, the board expected that students would be required to spend at least one year in an integrated school during the elementary grades and one year during junior and senior high school.[69]

With the above as the core of the board plan, it appeared that chances for an appeal were quite high. According to the *L. A. Times* newspaper, "The board has proposed a mild plan, leaving many pupils in segregated schools untouched by desegregation. The ACLU, representing the plaintiff, wants virtually all schools desgregated."[70] Edward Medvene, one of the plaintiff's lawyers, said in his opening statement before Judge Egly, that the board's plan "will not solve the problem of segregation in the district. It

does not offer meaningful progress . . . toward eliminating the evils identified in Crawford."[71]

Chicano Reaction to the 1977 School Board Plan

Newspaper accounts on the reaction of Chicano education activists indicated that they thought that the community would be relieved or confused regarding the board plan. Chicano leaders also expressed personal fears that the proposed plan would not provide for the educational needs of their community. Ruby Aguilar, head of the Mexican American Education Commission, felt that many parents would be relieved that only limited busing would occur. Vahac Mardirosian noted, however, that the board plan was very complex and he predicted confusion. "I am not sure people in the community understand what the board is trying to do," Mardirosian said. "In fact, I have my doubts if the board understood exactly what they were voting for."[72]

The fear that the board plan would short-change Chicano youngsters was noted by Mardirosian who said he feared that bilingual education programs in particular would be "watered down" and receive far less financial support from the district.[73] Rose Lopez, another community leader, worried that the school district would focus all its attention, money and resources on integration at the learning centers and neglect the educational conditions Chicanos face. "The barrio schools will either remain as bad as they are now or get worse," was her prediction.[74]

On March 18, 1977, Judge Egly received the School Board's plan, and court hearings on the plan began. In addition to the plaintiff's ACLU lawyers, the Los Angeles Center for Law and Justice had several lawyers in the court. Lynn Pineda, a Center attorney, said, "We came in basically because we're concerned about the welfare of the Chicano or Mexican American students."[75] He added, "Los Angeles now has three school systems – brown, black and white. As long as that system persists, the overcrowding, poorer facilities and less qualified staff in the minority schools will continue." Regarding the claim that Chicanos were against mandatory busing, Pineda noted, "I don't think in any way – Spanish-surnamed families would choose lower-quality [school] programs in order to stay near home. However, they are concerned about losing the good programs they have begun to get in recent years, especially bilingual/bicultural programs."[76]

The March 1977 board plan has some references to the necessity

to meet the education needs of bilingual/bicultural students and it includes this point:

> As an integral part of the district's integration efforts, the integrity of binlingual/bicultural instructional programs shall be maintained and expanded.[77]

However, the efforts of Chicanos to work through CACSI, their drafting of specific proposals and the position and policy statement that were accepted by CACSI, make the citizen committee's plan more attractive. Apart from the CACSI proposals being a more ambitious "total desegregation" plan, the plan has the input of several Chicano education activists. It is the latter, not necessarily the first, that should make the CACSI plan more attractive to the Chicano residents of Los Angeles.

Developments Affecting Chicanos

Three major developments in the desegregation case, two specifically concerning Chicanos, have occurred since the board plan went before the court. First, Judge Egly raised a question regarding the 193,437 pupils that the district classified as "Hispanic" in its October 1976 survey. Egly inquired as to how many of the Hispanic students, a population that has been established to be predominantly Chicano, are actually members of a deprived minority. He was suggesting "that many Mexican Americans are assimilated into the mainstream of American life and do not consider themselves to be members of an isolated racial or ethnic minority."[78] Dr. John W. Caughey, who has worked on behalf of the plaintiff in the *Crawford* case, estimates that about one-third of the Spanish surname pupils are assimilated. The *L. A. Times* reported that "Caughey believes, and Egly seems to be suggesting, that if assimilated Mexican Americans could be identified and eliminated from the racially isolated group, then the number of minority students might become small enough to be manageable and school desegregation might become a simpler process."[79]

The judge indicated that the California Supreme Court ruled in the *Crawford* decision that Los Angeles schools must be desegregated and identified "racial isolation" as the evil to be corrected. "If we are going to desegregate," Egly said, "we must use that definition . . . not just putting everything in a pigeon hole but making a real examination as to whether they [Mexican Americans] fit the isolated minority definition."[80] The judge also

added, "if once a minority enters the mainstream . . . then it seems to me (they have) passed the point of being classified as a minority."[81]

If the court follows this line of thought it is uncertain what the ramifications would be for the Chicano community. If, for example, a number of Mexican Americans are found to be assimilated they might not be included in a desegregation plan. Consequently, the population of Chicano youth that would be involved in desegregation efforts would be smaller – however, they would still number around 130,000 students! Further, how would the schools establish whether or not a Mexican American was assimilated? Associate Superintendent of Schools, Jerry F. Halverson, said, "I can't for the life of me determine criteria someone could use to deterine who is assimilated and who is not."[82] Commonly available socioeconomic indicators could be used but it is obvious that barrio dwellers, those that reside in low income, ethnically isolated communities, would be found as the least assimilated in the social and economic mainstream of this society. They would, if Judge Egly's suggestion is followed, probably bear the burden for desegregating the district, while the more affluent Hispanic youth would be excluded from desegregation efforts.

On the other hand, the "mainstream" Hispanic could be placed with the available Anglo group of students and provide a larger pool of middle class students to desegregate racially isolated schools. What might then happen is that "mainstream" Mexican Americans, because of their proximity to black schools, could be used to desegregate black South Central Los Angeles campuses. "Mainstream" Mexican Americans could also be used to "desegregate" predominantly Mexican American schools; it could be shown that a 90 percent Mexican American school should not be touched by desegregation on the basis of that school having 20-30 percent middle income, "mainstream" Mexican Americans. In other words, the predominantly Mexican American school could be regarded as "already" being desegregated.

Interestingly, Judge Egly noted that upward mobility has been provided for Italians, Irish, Germans and others who now appear in the school district census as white. Entry into the mainstream of this society has not happened to blacks, he said, because of racial prejudice based upon color.[83] However, if you contend that some Chicanos have become mainstreamers, even though they too have been discriminated against as a group, then someone is going to inquire as to whether or not all blacks are outside of the

mainstream of this society. The basic question is no longer dealing with racially/ethnically isolated schools or trying to eliminate the three existing school systems in the district: the black, the brown and the white. By moving in a direction that concerns itself more with mobility and economic class, the judge has opened a new "pandora's box" that may muddle the issues all the more and, in fact, defer the racial/ethnic desegregation of the school district.

According to attorney Lynn Pineda, it is unrealistic to try to separate "mainstream" Mexican Americans from those who are not. He noted, "That's the wrong concept. You don't have to give up your 'Latinoness' or your blackness in order to get into the society. Many Mexican Americans are prosperous. Many consider themselves members of the middle class, but 99 percent of them still consider themselves Latino. They know their history."[84] Pineda warned that if Egly pursues this point, one possible result would be integration of black and brown schools, leaving many predominatly Anglo schools untouched.

The goal of reducing the number of students involved in desegregation activities and therefore making the process a "manageable and simpler" process, brings out many new questions. Defining who is assimilated and how many "Hispanics" would be affected are merely two concerns. Generally, however, the approach seems to be inconsistent with one of the basic criteria for desegregation established by the Chicano community. That is, that the desegregation plan be fair and applied to all who live in the district. Otherwise, as has been noted, the various communitites may not support the plan.

The second major development in the desegregation efforts in Los Angeles that affect the Chicano revolves around the federal funding received by the school district. The Los Angeles Unified School District receives about 10 percent of its budget, $100 million, from the federal government, and is seeking a $24 million federal grant to get the court-ordered desegregation plan started. Denial of that grant, however, entails more than not having an additional $24 million for enhancing the quality of education in the district (while desegregation is being carried out). Rejection of the grant would require the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) to begin an investigation that could lead to termination of all federal support.

At this time, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW) has noted that some alleged discriminatory practices have been reported. OCR has indicated concern about whether the district is complying with federal law in providing non-English

and limited-English speaking students with special language programs.[85] This concern, of course, is shared by educational leaders in the Chicano community who argue that the district is not complying with the U.S. Supreme Court decision in the *Lau v Nichols* case. Floyd Pierce, regional OCR director, indicated that district records from 1974-75 raised questions about the district's provision of "educational services which assure that each . . . student's academic achievement is not impeded by a lack of English language facility."[86]

OCR's analysis of those records, Pierce added, "indicates that little more than half of the students whom the district reported to the state as non-English and limited-English speaking are enrolled in programs designed to address their identified linguistic needs."[87] Pierce further noted that unless the District's current records show that these apparent instances of noncompliance have been corrected, the district would be required to submit an acceptable plan to OCR for correcting these violations before a grant to assist in desegregation would be approved.[88]

Several years ago the district had difficulty with another federal proposal. Based on the information submitted in that proposal, OCR accused the district of discriminating against minority teachers by assigning them to predominantly minority schools. OCR then ordered the district to submit a teacher desegregation plan or face the loss of all federal funding. The district complied and the first phase of a teacher desegregation program began in September 1976. Now OCR is raising the question regarding language programs and whether minority students are being segregated – "tracked" – in classrooms at integrated schools.[89] Chief of the Regional OCR Educational Branch, John Palomino, said that "if the grant [for desegregation assistance] is denied on grounds the district was in apparent noncompliance [with federal law], then OCR is required to move ahead and demand correction. If compliance is not achieved, HEW must move to cut off funds."[90]

Chicano activists have mentioned the need to establish and expand bilingual programs for students that require them, as well as assuring that minority student tracking be eliminated in the district. At this point in time, regarding these two major issues, the pressure being applied by the federal government and from the local community may be sufficient to prompt action from the school district. However, leaders in the Spanish speaking community are still fearful that the expense involved in implementing desegregation programs will drain funding and other

resources from existing bilingual education programs, and prevent the start of new programs. Dr. Julian Nava, the only Mexican American on the Board of Education, said he believes that Chicano concern over the effect school desegregation will have on bilingual education is "legitimate but unnecessary."[91]

The *Los Angeles Times* quoted Dr. Nava as saying:

> . . .under the 1974 Supreme Court decision [*Lau v. Nichols*], and various state and federal laws passed since then, bilingual education is as much the law of the land – at least in California – as desegregation is.
>
> The district is now required by law to expand bilingual programs. If it doesn't live up to the law, it will be sued – and I will be one of the Plaintiffs.[92]

The third major court development in the desegregation case that affects all students is the court rejection of the March 1977 school board plan. Judge Paul Egly indicated that the plan did not meet the California State Supreme Court mandate and that the plan failed because it does not desegregate any school in the district or even were it to be found . . . that it would desegregate schools, it would reach so few of the 231 segregated minority schools [with 80 percent or more minority students] as to be wholly ineffective in desegregating this district."[93] In reaching a finding of unconstitutionality, the Judge placed particular stress on the failure of the board plan to deal with large numbers of blacks and Hispanic students in heavily segregated schools. He noted that "They [approximately 111,761 of the 153,704 students in minority elementary segregated schools] will not have been relieved in any manner of their racial isolation during their entire school experience."[94]

Judge Egly acknowledged that the board faced a difficult task in attempting to desegregate because of the geographic size of the district, the decreasing white student population, and other factors. "But nothing this court has heard," he wrote, in his opinion, "has sustained the argument of the board that the board can do nothing further in relieving segregation [than was included in the March 1977 school board plan]." The Judge further noted that it was "clear from the evidence that this plan, even if approved by this court, would result in this district continuing to maintain three separate school systems: brown, black and white. Each isolated from the other."[95]

The Judge consequently ordered the school board to return to

court within ninety days with "a plan or plans which realistically commence the desegregation of this district by no later than February 1978. . ."[96] The long and arduous court battle, begun in 1963, was still not resolved, and segregated schools would continue into 1978.

CACSI Chicano Subcommittee Position and Policy

During December 1976, and January of 1977, the Chicano members of CACSI, after the Citizen's Committee formally established the Chicano subcommittee, met to work on a subcommittee position and policy statement. Dr. David Lopez-Lee was employed by the school district as a consultant for the Chicano subcommittee, and it was his charge to assist the group in the development of a written report. The following document was drafted by Dr. Lopez-Lee and provides a synthesis of the expressed concerns of the CACSI Chicano subcommittee. This statement, along with the series of recommendations listed earlier, provides the Chicano perspective on school desegregation in Los Angeles. The fears and anxiety that the people feel, that the school system has ignored them for too long, is apparent. Also clear, is their demand for a commitment to quality education in the barrios and attention to bilingual/bicultural student needs as part of a desegregation effort. Without these commitments from the schools, even with the implementation of a desegregation program, . . ." "The barrio schools," as a Chicano CACSI member predicted, "will either remain as bad as they are now or get worse."[97]

Because of the importance of the document, most of the position and policy statement of the Chicano subcommittee is reproduced here, as it was considered by the subcommittee in December 1976, and January 1977.

Position and Policy Statement of the Chicano Subcommittee of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Student Integration[98]

The Chicano Subcommittee of the Citizen's Advisory Committee on Student Integration (CACSI) is fully aware of two major empirically based premises supportive of integrated schools: (1) that the best way to minimize ethnic prejudice is to have people (particularly children) experience the different ethnics; and (2) that segregated minority schools have characteristically inferior education than do majority schools. The former observation is generally reported in the literature.[99] The latter observation was

made in the *Brown* case of 1954 and was comprehensively documented in the U.S. Commission for Civil Rights study entitled *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* (1967). The most recently available school data relevant to this point, from the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD), was analyzed by the Community Analysis Bureau of the City of Los Angeles (1976).[100] They confirmed the inferior status of LAUSD's segregated minority schools. Comparing "predominantly Anglo" schools (90 percent + Anglos) with "predominantly Spanish" schools (75 percent + Spanish) they reported the following:

A. Elementary Schools: Spanish majority schools, compared with Anglo majority schools, have
   1. Larger classes
   2. Smaller libraries
   3. Same size film libraries
   4. Fewer sound recordings

B. Junior High Schools: Spanish majority schools, compared with Anglo majority schools, have
   1. Less experienced teachers
   2. Fewer certificated teachers
   3. Fewer teachers with M.A. or PH.D.
   4. Similar (small) proportions of Spanish teachers
   5. Similar class sizes
   6. Many fewer 8mm films
   7. Somewhat fewer filmstrips
   8. Many fewer sound recordings

C. Senior High Schools: Spanish majority schools, compared with Anglo majority schools, have
   1. Similar (small) proportions of Spanish teachers
   2. Very low twelfth grade reading and math scores
   3. Slightly larger libraries
   4. Somewhat more 8mm films
   5. Many more filmstrips
   6. Many more sound recordings

With regard to the 436 elementary schools in the District, (as Chart 2 illustrates), the higher the minority percentage, the lower the reading performance. These reading scores are consistent with those found by the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Report II, (1971) which states that reading is one of the primary "...measures of controlled educational outcomes." The Commission reported that:

> ...minority students in the Southwest do not obtain the same benefits of public education as their Anglo peers.

> The Commission's research found the schools wanting in performance: . . . low reading achievement which thwarts success in other academic disciplines; extensive classroom failure which necessitates grade repetition. . . lack of student participation in extracurricular activities.

We of the Chicano Subcommittee believe that the evidence for integrated schools is persuasive. But the Subcommittee is also aware of the dangers of an integration policy that is totally assimilationist in nature – one that does not respect the rights and needs of the culturally different.

We are fully cognizant of the fact that as human beings we each "must have roots." People have a need for group identification and/or group security. The need for such identification may be readily inferred from a number of studies which show that a poor self-identity (in terms of cultural heritage) goes hand in hand with correlates of mental dysfunction.[101] With regard to Chicanos in partiuclar, researchers not only unequivocably point to the negative self-concept and associated poor academic performance that the schools produce,[102] but assert or imply that providing the conditions that enhance a Chicano's self-identity will tend to reduce socially unacceptable behavior.[103] And, indeed we are now witness to many bilingual and other culturally relevant programs, being provided in the LAUSD and other school districts throughout the Southwest, that are resulting in improved self-concepts and correspondingly improved academic performance.

In light of both of the foregoing empirically substantiated perspectives, and as a matter of policy, we do not support the position that only by having all "Chicano" or all "black" or all "Anglo" schools will we be able to sustain cultural identity, since this notion not only engenders the ills associated with segregated minority schools, but also works against the elimination of prejudice within each of these groups. Also, as a matter of policy, we do not support the notion of taking children long distances across the city just to have a few Chicanos, blacks or Anglos in a school, since this would deprive these children of experiencing cultural needs with children of the same ethnic background and the culturally cohesive strength derived therefrom. Moreover, we are, as a matter of policy, opposed to taking children long distances to other schools for integration purposes, since by definition such distances would contradict the local control notion implicit in the maintenance of cultural cohesion. To deal in a

manner consistent with these policy positions, the following specific integration criteria have been developed:

1. In the assignment of students of any major racial/ethnic group to any school for the purposes of integration, they should comprise not less than 20 percent of the school's population. This minimizes the detriment of racial/ethnic isolation and provides a group support base for culturally relevant programs.
2. Due to their small numbers, students characterized native American, Aleuts, and Eskimos should be excluded from any mandatory provisions of an integration plan, but may participate voluntarily.
3. That for mandatory integration, maximum travel time, by whatever method, for elementary pupils be no more than 30 minutes and for junior and senior high students, 45 minutes. These time constraints are believed necessary to minimize the detriment of fatigue on the part of the students, and maintain reasonable parental accessibility. (The better accessibility time for elementary school children is particularly important due to the greater criticality of childhood diseases for them.)
4. The selection of children who might be moved for integration purposes should be randomly selected subsequent to a geographic priority listing (the "closest" being selected first). Students in special programs or who have medical problems should be exempted.
5. In accordance with Board Rule 1370, all schools mandated to have advisory councils should insure for the participation of parents from sending schools (provisions should be made for their transportation).
6. The integrity of bilingual and/or culturally relevant programs should not be violated. In a manner consistent with AB2284 (The Chacon Act), we request that no less than 20 Spanish speaking children per class level be assigned to any school for integration purposes. We fully recognize that AB 1329 (The Chacon-Moscone Act) requires the provision of a bilingual program when there are at least ten or more limited-English speaking students per class. The minimum lower bound of twenty is to guard against any drops below the mandated ten, and to maintain a group support base consonant with item 1 (above).

To convey to the reader the consistency of criteria 6 of our policy statement with the law, a brief summary thereof follows.

The Chacon Act (AB 2284, 1972) requires that all participating California school districts undertake a census of their limited-English speaking (LES) and non-English speaking (NES) pupils, and to report such findings to the State Department of Education. It further specifies that no more than two-thirds of the children enrolled in bilingual classes shall be LES.[104] The Chacon-Moscone Act (AB 1329, 1976) requires that *all existing categorical funds* (including Chacon, Title I, SB 90, Miller-Unruh, Early Childhood Education programs) for which a district applies (and for which LES/NES students are eligible) must be used for these LES/NES students before that district becomes eligible for additional funds provided by the Act. The Chacon Act is permissive and participation optional for school districts, whereas the Chacon-Moscone Act makes two related legislative mandates: (1) school districts eligible to receive its funds are required to develop and implement either a "partial bilingual," a "full bilingual," or a "bilingual/bicultural" instructional program for students in grades kindergarten-6 where there are at least ten or more LES students with the same primary language at the same grade level or age group; and (2) districts not eligible to receive its funds, as well as those districts with fewer than ten or more identified children at the same grade level, must still provide these children with instructional services consistent with the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Lau v. Nichols* (414 US 563, 1975), and adhere to all subsequent regulations concerning LES/NES students in grades Kindergarten-12. In essence, the Chacon Act will eventually be fully absorbed into the Chacon-Moscone Act.

In a recent letter from the Office of Civil Rights (OCR), concern was expressed to the LAUSD (and a subtle warning given) over the fact that the most recent district data (1974-1975) made available to the OCR, indicated that only a little over half of those students who reported to the State Department of Education as LES and NES were enrolled in programs addressed to their needs.[105] Because this letter might result in the implementation of a hasty classificatory system and hasty associated programs regarding LES and NES children, we *strongly request* that the CACSI *insist* that any such classification procedure and associated programs meet those minimums (specified in the same letter) required for compliance with Title VI or with Section 185.43 (d) of the Emergency School Aid Act (ESAA). [The pertinent part of

that letter states that a district must, as a minimum, comply with items two to six listed as Chicano recommendations for school desegregation and included above.]

We are disturbed; that in spite of all the empirical information available concerning the inferior education given in minority segregated schools (witnessed by the U.S. Supreme Court and the California Supreme Court),[106] the only conclusion was that the schools integrate. We are disturbed that the courts never required that school districts give all children a quality education. And, although our policy position would dictate a culturally different education, it does not mean an inferior education. We demand what the court should have demanded: more Chicano teachers; that all teachers be given interpersonal/intercultural skills training with the involvement of parents and students; and that Chicano children have parity in academic achievements. If such demands are not complied with, we will go to the courts to move the district on this point for a quality and culturally relevant education. We are tired of our children not being able to read; of the excessive number of this district's graduates who drop out of college; of the fact that science is taught in our westside elementary schools and not in our East Los Angeles schools. We have come a long way in our understanding of the manner in which our children's hearts and intellects have been destroyed – we cannot back off from these demands.

Summary

Several general observations can be made regarding the desegregation of Los Angeles City schools and the possible outcome of these efforts. First, it can be easily recognized that the desegregation issue in Los Angeles is not merely a black versus white problem. The large and growing Chicano population has created a unique situation in the area. There are three major ethnic/racial population groups, and there appear to be three school systems: one black, one white and one Chicano. Other large urban centers, faced with the task of desegregating the public schools, have not had these large multiethnic student populations. Consequently, whatever approach is taken to desegregate Los Angles schools should also consider the ethnic/racial makeup of the district and the diverse needs that the three groups represent.

Unfortunately, the desegregation question in Los Angeles (as in most other urban school districts) has been reduced to a white and black community issue. The contention of most Chicanos in the city is that the Mexican community has been totally ignored or only minimally involved in the planning of school desegregation programs. If it had not been for seven or eight Chicano members in CACSI, the Citizens Advisory Committee, CACSI would not have had meaningful input from the Chicano community. It is, however, a sad commentary that the views of a large sector of the Los Angeles Community should be represented by seven or eight individuals on a committee of 114 members. But, just as CACSI had only minimal Chicano representation, we can be almost certain that, in general, Chicano input on the question of desegregation will be minimal. There is but one school board member of Mexican descent: there are few Mexican Americans on the district's administrative staff; and there are few Chicano school principals, counselors and teachers. Each of these various levels within the school system will have some role to play in the planning and implementation of desegregation policy. The lack of a Chicano presence in these staff and decision making levels will probably insure that the Mexican community will be ignored.

Attempts to disregard the Chicano have also been noted in the court proceedings. For example, it has been argued that Chicanos are already dispersed throughout the school district and that many should not be affected by desegregation. However, it should be

understood that even if Chicanos are dispersed, they are still segregated into "Mexican" schools or "tracked" into low achievement student groups in supposedly integrated schools. These are the kinds of school policies and actions that must be eliminated as part of a desegregation effort.

Judge Egly, the presiding judge in the desegregation court hearings, also reflected a lack of understanding and concern for the Chicano's educational reality when he tried to isolate "mainstream" Hispanics from those who constitute what he called the "deprived minority." He did not make a similar suggestion for dealing with the black youth of the district because he concluded that all blacks had been the victims of color discrimination. Therefore, all black students were his concern. However, he perceived that large numbers of Mexican Americans had become mobile and were no longer members of the isolated minority community that were ill affected by segregation. Obviously, Judge Egly understood that color discrimination affects blacks irregardless of their being poor or middle class – yet, he could not see that Chicanos are discriminated against in much the same way. Furthermore, the issue is not whether there are assimilated Chicanos attending Los Angeles City Schools. The legal concern is whether Chicanos are segregated into Mexican schools and/or into all-Mexican classrooms.

The resentment of the community to Judge Egly's attempts to distinguish between assimilated and nonassimilated Chicanos has been pronounced. If this approach is incorporated into the desegregation plan, it will surely result in the development of untested and mediocre instruments for labelling youth and placing them on an assimilation scale. More important, the Chicano would, once again, be the subject for labelling and manipulation. This is something that the community will not accept; and, as far as can be ascertained, this activity has nothing to do with alleviating the segregation of Chicano students.

While the Chicano is ignored, and the black community is considered as the "injured minority," it is apparent that the white population of Los Angeles is receiving favored status in the process of developing a desegregation plan. The possible revolt of the white community has often been mentioned in the deliberations, not only in the court, but also in the CACSI meetings and the School Board hearings. The dangers of "white flight," and the reduction of white students in the district, along with the predicted reduction in the quality of schooling, has been stressed. The conditions are such that a desegregation plan must not only be

"reasonable and feasible" but it must also be acceptable to the white community. The question is therefore not only a judicial matter, but it also involves the popular acceptance of a desegregation plan by the most powerful ethnic/racial group in the school district.

Chicano leaders have indicated that disruptions during the implementation of court ordered desegregation would not be caused by Chicanos. They believe that the violent behavior – such as demonstrated in Boston and other cities – would most likely be initiated by white residents. Chicano activists consider the elimination of segregated schooling as an assurance that all schools in the district, including barrio schools, would be improved. The inequality inherent in a segregated school system would become the concern of all the parents and not just the minority community. Many Chicanos believe that desegregation will produce these gains for their community; they are not ill-disposed to accommodate the negative aspects of desegregation – including busing. However, as has been observed by some Chicanos, the typical white resident does not feel that he is gaining anything through the desegregation effort. If anything, there is the feeling of loss. White residents fear loss of community control of the neighborhood school and the presumed loss of quality education.

However, although there are white residents that are apprehensive about their children commuting longer distances (and they do worry about maintaining the excellence of school instruction), there are those that are affected by ethnically or racially prejudiced attitudes. They do not wish to eliminate the separate ethnic/racial enclaves that have developed in the city, nor do they concern themselves with efforts to eliminate the dual school system that has been established in Los Angeles: a system for whites and one for nonwhite minorities. This is a segregated system that has been proven harmful to minority and white students alike.

Another general observation on desegregation activities for the Chicano Community in Los Angeles, is improving barrio schools and providing equal educational opportunity for students of Mexican descent. Similar to the black community, some Chicanos have concluded that the elimination of segregated schools is one way of providing the necessary improvements. Chicano activists, however, have established certain conditions that a desegregation plan must meet. First and foremost, the plan must assure that the recent educational gains made by Chicanos are protected and expanded. This includes not only bilingual/bicultural educational programs but also staff affirmative action efforts, improved community-

school relations, and the improvement of the existing curriculum found in barrio schools.

Chicanos propose that bilingual/bicultural education should not only be provided for Chicanos but also that it be incorporated throughout the school system. A multilingual-multicultural curriculum, focusing upon the ethnic and racial groups in the district, could provide a means for integrating the different groups. This curriculum could assist in the development of awareness and sensitivity to other language and cultural communities and ultimately create an environment where differences are accepted and respected. Consequently, for Chicanos, bilingual/bicultural education provides a model of an educational program that must be incorporated in a desegregation plan. The white and the black communities do not share the same view of bilingual/bicultural education and they do not consider it an integral part of a desegregation plan.

The crucial variables for Chicanos will be the degree to which bilingual/bicultural programs are incorportated into the plan, and the extent of improvements expected for barrio schools resulting from desegregation. If Chicanos perceive that they will receive sufficient school district commitment to provide for these two concerns they will probably accept and support desegregation in Los Angeles.

One final observation can be made regarding desegregation in Los Angeles and the Chicano community; there are economic and political issues that should be considered. For example, Chicanos in Los Angeles have no alternatives to consider with regard to the desegregation of the schools. Due to their ecomonic condition they are unable to establish private schools. Segments of the white community, on the other hand, are seriously considering this course of action. Second, there is no phenomenon known as "Chicano flight." Chicanos cannot afford to leave urban centers which provide for their social and economic necessities. Many white residents, however, are prepared to move away from the city and may do so in reaction to school desegregation. Third, it appears that the ultimate control over the course taken by the school district to eliminate segregated schooling will not be in the hands of the ethnic/racial minority communities. The few Chicanos actively involved in the desegregation planning have consistently charged that there is a lack of understanding of Chicano community needs and that the community is being disregarded. Chicanos believe that the March 1977 plan developed by the school board (and submitted to the court) was heavily influenced

by pressures from white residents; and that white community preferences will greatly affect any plan approved by the courts. Politically, the white community has already asserted itself in a June 1977 school board election by removing Robert Doctor, a supporter for a large scale desegregation plan, and replacing him with Bobbi Fiedler, the founder of an antibusing group from the San Fernando Valley area.

While the principal issues in Los Angeles may, on the surface, be segregation and unequal educational opportunity, Chicanos recognize that they must struggle to attain some measure of control of the schooling institution. Although desegregation will affect all groups, Chicanos have not played important roles in the forging of desegregation guidelines. Regardless of the growing population of Chicanos in the city, the harsh reality is that they are powerless and unable to change the schools in a significant way. While the present conflict may appear to be over which desegregation plan to approve, an unseen struggle for control of the schools is being waged. The results of this continuing struggle will, in effect, determine the quality of schooling that Chicanos receive.

Sectors of the Mexican community have concluded that segregation and unequal educational opportunity are products of a system that maintains separate enclaves based upon color and class distinctions. Thus far, they feel that desegregation efforts have excluded Mexican people and have been guided by the privileged class within the school district who are, in fact, struggling to maintain their educational privileges while minorities are arguing over issues such as "busing." The real question is whether significant change in the quality of schooling provided for Chicano youth can be generated via school desegregation or if it will lead to reformist policies that will fundamentally support the status quo. Many Chicanos in Los Angeles believe the latter will occur.

The first revolution in American education, the movement for *quantity*, has been won. The second revolution, the move toward providing *equality* of opportunity, is underway in the country and in Los Angeles. However, the Mexican community is playing a peripheral role and must rely on the "force of law," not on their own resources, to assure that they receive just treatment. This will not work. The source of Chicano discontent with the schools is their lack of power in effecting change in that institution. Therefore, Mexican people must reiterate their demand for community control of their local school and work together to gain that control. Then the revolution of *equality* will have meaning for the Mexican.

Appendix 1
Chronology of Los Angeles School Desegregation

August 1963: American Civil Liberties Union files suit against Los Angeles school board. The suit focuses on two racially imbalanced schools.

September 1963: Superior Judge Alfred Gitelson issues show - cause order to correct imbalance. School board committee files report denying gerrymandering.

December 1963: School board adopts statement on "equal educational opportunity."

February 1964: Board adopts plan to transport black students from two crowded schools in South Central Los Angeles to Westchester.

July 1966: ACLU, acting on behalf of 13 black and 5 Mexican American students, amends its 1976 suit to include entire Los Angeles district.

September 1968: Small scale voluntary busing begins in Los Angeles.

October 1968: Trial of expanded desegregation suit begins.

November 1968: About 220 more students added to busing program.

April 1969: School board ends open enrollment policy; agrees to give priority to enrollment transfer requests that will improve racial balance.

May 1969: Desegregation trial ends; opinion awaited.

February 1970: Gitelson rules against school board; directs board to have integration plan in operation by September 1, 1970. Board appeals, decision stayed pending outcome of appeal.

March 1975: State Court of Appeal reverses Gitelson ruling, saying school board did not intentionally discriminate against minority students. ACLU appeals to California Supreme Court.

June 1975: California Supreme court agrees to hear case.

April 1976: School Board establishes Citizens Advisory Committee on School Integration with more than 100 members, to advise board on ways to reduce segregation.

June 1976: California Supreme Court rules against school board, holding that the board violated the equal protection clauses of the U. S. and California consitutions by failing to take "reasonably feasible" steps to reduce segregation. Board ordered to prepare desegregation plan for submission to Los Angeles Superior Court.

July 1976: Board votes not to appeal decision to U.S. Supreme Court.

January 1977: Citizen's committee adopts desegregation plan requiring extensive mandatory busing.

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January 1977: Board rejects citizens' committee plan and adopts its own desegregation guidelines, calling mainly for limited but mandatory busing of pupils in fourth through sixth grades to integrated learning centers for one nine-week period a year. Guidelines would be extended to junior high schools in 1978-79 and senior high schools in 1979-80.

February 1977: Supt. of Schools Williams Johnston, using board's guidelines, returns with detailed desegregation plan calling for busing of about 86,000 pupils to learning centers starting the following September. About 23,000 minority students would be untouched by the plan.

February 1977: Superior Judge Paul Egly appointed to hear the city school desegregation case. He succeeds Judge Parks Stillwell, who had been appointed earlier but withdrew.

March 1977: Board approves final plan relying on voluntary desegregation until next February, then invoking mandatory desegregation if necessary to assure that at least fifty elementary schools are desegregated. Large numbers of minority students would be untouched by plan.

March 1977: Board abandons twenty-minute limit imposed earlier on all mandatory bus rides. Instead, agrees to rides of up to thirty minutes for elementary pupils and thirty-five minutes for junior and senior high school students. Action increases the number of elementary schools which could be involved in mandatory busing, from about fifty-six to seventy-eight.

March 1977: Board delivers plan to Egly.

March 1977: Court hearings on plan begin; expected to last a month or more.

July 1977: Judge Egly rejects the March desegregation plan submitted by the Los Angeles City School District Board.

Appendix 2
Superior Court Judge's Opinion on the Rejection of the Los Angeles Board of Education, March 1977, Desegregation Plan

Why Egly Rejected the Board's Plan

"It Does Not Desegregate Any School in the District"

Following is the full text of the opinion delivered by Superior Court Judge Paul Egly when he rejected the Los Angeles Board of Education's part-time desegregation plan. It has been edited only for clarity with parenthetical explanations inserted where necessary.

The mandate previously issued in 1970 by this Court to desegregate the Los Angeles Unified School District was affirmed by the California Supreme Court June 28, 1976. The response to that order was an integration plan filed by the Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) Board in this department on March 18, 1977. A hearing was immediately commenced to determine whether this plan complied with that mandate.

Nearly 12 weeks of testimony were produced in its support. At the end of the testimony a motion was made by the petitioners, (Mary Ellen Crawford, et al), and joined in part by the intervenors, Integration Project (a group supporting full-scale busing), Diane Watson (board member and B.E.S.T. (Better Education for Students Today, a multiracial group opposed to all radical steps), requesting the plan be rejected as insufficient compliance with the mandate. This Court now grants the petitioners' motion.

The plan fails because it does not desegregate any school in the district, and even if it did, it would reach so few of the 231 segregated minority schools as to be wholly ineffective in desegregating this district.

This conclusion is based upon the Court's perception of the following evidence:

As of October 1976, the district had 592,931 pupils–

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kindergarten through twelfth grade–distributed among 559 schools, of which:

435 are elementary schools
75 are junior high schools
49 are senior high schools.

The ethnic and cultural identification of these students was, as of October 1976:

White:	219,359 or 37.0%
Black:	142,778 or 24.1%
Hispanic	190,363 or 32.1%
Other non-white minority	40,431 or 6.8%

In its plan the Board identifies as segregated those schools having a minority (nonwhite) to white or white to minority ratio of not less than 80% to 20%. All other schools by this definition are integrated.

The segregated schools are either segregated minority (at least 80% nonwhite) or segregated white (at least 80% white). It is the former which will be further described.

Of the total segregated minority schools:

183 are elementary schools
26 are junior high schools
22 are senior high schools

Within the segregated minority elementary schools there are:

	Percentage Nonwhite	Number Minority Students
113 schools	98%-100%	101,162
24 schools	95%- 97%	17,797
46 schools	80%- 94%	34,745
183 total schools		153,704

Within the segregated minority junior high schools there are:

17 schools	98%-100%	31,577
5 schools	95%- 97%	7,595
4 schools	80%- 94%	6,593
26 total schools		45,765

Within the segregated minority senior high schools there are:

14 schools	98%-100%	25,385
4 schools	95%- 97%	8,395
4 schools	80%- 94%	10,675
22 total schools		44,455

The mandatory portion of the board's plan designates only 38 segregated white elementary schools and 55 segregated minority

elementary schools as definitely included in the desegregation process. Unaffected by any desegregation plan are 128 segregated minority elementary schools, of which 99 are 98% to 100% nonwhite; 12 which are 95% to 97% nonwhite; and 17 which are 80% to 94% nonwhite. A total of 111,761 of the 153,704 students in segregated minority elementary schools remain racially isolated.

The plan vaguely envisions that there shall be at least one year of integrated learning experience for students in their high school term (high school includes 7th through 12th grades). Other than these vague voluntary programs no requirement for desegregation is indicated. The effect of this plan leaves most of the segregated junior and senior high schools segregated. The vast majority of the 111,761 minority elementary students, who are untouched by this plan, will go to segregated minority junior high schools that are 95% to 100% nonwhite and thence to segregated minority high schools. They will not have been relieved in any manner of their racial isolation during their entire school experience.

The basic tool of the board's plan is the Educational Planning Unit (EPU). This device is an attractive educational tool which clusters segregated schools and allows the parents and staff of the schools comprising the EPU to determine what type of voluntary integration will be accomplished within their unit. The EPU concept has been praised by the witnesses produced by the board because of its voluntary nature and because of the participation given the parents and staff of the schools in choosing among the several programs offered for integration.

The plan has built-in constraints which prevent any effective expansion for increased impact on the segregated minority schools. The most inhibiting of these constraints, are geographical and definitional. The scope of the Educational Planning Units (EPUs), is determined by both. The limitation placed on mandatory transportation distance (30 minutes for elementary pupils and 35 minutes for junior and senior high school students) determines the geographical limits of the EPU. The (board's) definition of segregated and integrated determines which schools within those geographical limits may be included in an EPU. This last definition excludes all pupils in schools defined as integrated within the EPU's geographical boundaries, regardless of the exact ratio of the majority to minority pupils, whether 79% to 21% or 50% to 50%.

The Board concedes that the ratio by which a school is defined to be either integrated or segregated has no articulated rationality. Thus, by arbitrary standards, large numbers of students may be

included or excluded with any change of ratio defining segregated schools. With the existing definitions there are no mandatory provisions in the plan to expand the scope of the EPUs. These constraints not only operate on the mandatory provisions of the plan but also limit the voluntary options given the schools participating in an EPU by limiting the number of schools in the unit.

There is only one mandatory provision which remains as the sanction for failure to opt for a voluntary plan and it is to the mandatory provision that this order speaks, for if the EPU fails to elect a voluntary means of desegregation by February 1978, the board will require that a minimum of 50 elementary schools within the EPUs enter into the mandatory method of integration known as Specialized Learning Centers (SLC).

The ratio of students within the EPU schools will be not less than 40 to 60% majority/minority or minority/majority.

Nineteen elementary EPUs have been identified without definite determination of their sites.

Through the SLC, the board contends that by bringing together youngsters of the same grade from schools comprising the EPU for part of a day and part of a year, the schools which each youngster attends as his home school will become desegregated. The SLC is to operate as follows:

The kindergarten within the schools comprising the EPU are exempt from any integration.

Children in grades 1 through 3 will be required to have a cultural exchange experience with children of the same grade from other schools within that EPU for a minimum of 10 days each scholastic year. These exchanges will be sharing experiences, which the Court perceives to be in the form of field trips.

At the 4th through 6th grade levels, each child in the 50 schools will participate part-time in an SLC. For two thirds of his normal school year he will maintain his regular school schedule and curriculum at the school to which he is regularly assigned. For one-third of the school year he will report, presumably one hour early, to his regularly assigned segregated school and remain there for one hour.

During this hour, he will be given instruction in the basic skills: reading, mathematics and writing. He will then be placed on a bus and go to a facility housing the SLC. Upon his arrival with his home school teacher or aides, he will be met by two master teachers permanently assigned there, teaching aides, and youngsters from the same grade from the other segregated schools

comprising his EPU. His curriculum while at the SLC will be limited to the social sciences, with emphasis on non-competitive, cooperative and individual learning techniques.

The youngsters will have lunch together, and at 2:00 or 2:30 p.m. each student will be placed on a bus and returned to his regularly assigned, segregated school. The defined SLC plans stop at the end of the sixth grade.

Thereafter, the student becomes eligible, if he is attending the right school, to participate for one year in a cultural exchange or integrated program before graduation from senior high school. This high school program is vaguely outlined in the plan without specific guidelines.

Much time expended in these hearings was in listening to testimony praising the EPUs and the SLCs as valuable, although new and novel techniques for integration. The board's position is that these techniques are designed to alleviate the consequences of segregation and thereby desegregate schools.

This view is not shared by this Court, nor by any other court in any reported cases where similar provision for desegregation were advanced. No witness presented by the board made such a claim and several asserted that the plan did not desegregate.

This Court agrees that the respondent board is faced with a formidable task, given the geographical size of the district, the vast numbers of students, the increasing minority population, the decreasing white population, the numbers of limited-or-non-English speaking Hispanic students (100,000), the limitations on both taxation and expenditures of money and, lastly, the board members' personal perceptions of their constitutional duty.

But nothing this Court has heard has sustained the board's argument that it can do nothing further in relieving segregation. It is clear from the evidence that this plan, even if approved by this Court, would result in this district continuing to maintain three separate school systems: brown, black and white, each isolated from the other.

The voluntary aspects of the plan are limited to the schools comprising the EPUs and to an existing program called Permit With Transportation (PWT). This Court has previously noted in this order the constraints upon the voluntary aspects of the EPU component. PWT allows certain students to voluntarily bus out of their segregated school to other schools upon a space-and-transportation available basis and for so long as it helps desegregate the district. The plan envisions that participation in the

present PWT program will be increased from 9,500 to 20,000 at the end of the 1977-78 academic year and thereafter to 30,000 at the end of the 1978-79 year.

At present, the Permit With Transportation program is used almost entirely by minority students, busing themselves out of minority segregated schools to segregated white schools. Said busing often consumes an hour to an hour-and-a-half one-way, and very seldom relieves the minority impact on the sending schools. The proposed increase in cost of this busing ($768 per annum per pupil) is more than three times the present cost of "distance and hazard" busing in the district (less than $200 per annum per pupil).

Testimony in the case indicates that there is little expectation that there will be any measurable increase in use of the PWT program by white students; that it primarily is a minority-used student program. PWT offers little hope of relieving segregation because of the limited numbers envisioned in the plan; because it does not desegregate the sending schools; and because of the high cost of maintaining the program. It is constitutionally suspect as a major desegregation device because it places the burden of relieving the racial isolation of the minority student upon the minority student.

The other components of the board's plan will not be discussed because of its two basic defects; to wit, the minimal scope in reaching the 231 segregated schools in this district, and the failure to desegregate any school that is within its limited scope.

The Court specifically finds that the plan was hastily conceived as a reaction to the implications of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on School Integration (CACSI) plan, and that no effective in-depth study was made of the effect of the plan upon segregated schools of this district, nor any cost/benefit analysis made of the plan, nor any alternative plans seriously considered.

This Court urges the board to look realistically at this very difficult problem with the understanding that neither it nor this Court can ignore the mandate of the State Supreme Court. There is solace, perhaps, in knowing that by the end of 1975 there were at least 1,500 school districts in the United States subjected to this same trauma; that most of these desegregation efforts have been successful, although some have not.

Their history teaches us that the index of a successful effort has been the resolution and good faith shown by a board of education and its staff in preparing and leading their community in a court ordered desegregation of its schools. It is the Court's hope that the Los Angeles School District will be as fortunate.

Therefore, and in light of the above, the Court orders the respondent board of education to:

1. Return to this court within 90 days hereof a plan or plans which realistically commence the desegregation of this district by no later than February 1978, and which plan or plans promise within their terms to complete such desegregation process within a reasonable period thereafter.
2. In order that this Court may ensure that it has sufficient information to evaluate any plan or plans submitted, the board shall consider all reasonable alternative plans to the plan or plans which it shall finally submit to this Court. Such alternates shall include other plans submitted to it and plans developed internally.

   Both the plan or plans to be submitted and such alternates shall either be accompanied or supported by detailed findings and conclusions, including all evidentiary data: summaries of the opinions of experts' studies, both staff and outside; all statistical information; all cost and benefit studies; all financial information; all educational benefits and detriments; and, any and all information developed either in support of its final plan or plans or used in evaluating the alternative plans.
3. In evaluating and analyzing alternative plans, the Board shall not be precluded from reexaming Exhibit "A", the CACSI plan.
4. The Board shall present to his Court, so that it may be able to judge the reasonableness and feasibility of any plan or plans presented it, a cost and feasibility study of desegrating all of the minority elementary schools within the 98% to 100% minority segregated range; 90% to 100% minority segregated range; and 80% to 100% minority segregated range, without regard to any definition of integrated schools.

   The Same request is made for the Junior High Schools and Senior High Schools.

   This order is made for the singular purpose of obtaining the cost and feasibility of a maximum effort in order that this Court may develop a standard for rationally judging the reasonableness and feasibility of any plan submitted.
5. The respondent board shall prepare a tentative schedule for its study and deliberations and submit this schedule to this Court within 14 days hereof.
6. In order that the work of this Court shall be better assisted in the evaluation of the resoluteness of the board in complying

with the mandate, and further to ensure that the deadlines herein are being met, and lastly, to help the Court in the ultimate evaluation of the completeness of the board's compliance in any plan or plans submitted, the Court intends to appoint as an officer of this Court, a Referee under Code of Civil Procedure section 6394 to report to this Court periodically and also upon request, either in writing or orally, the efforts and work of the board and its staff respecting compliance with this order.

This Officer shall be given full access to all information and proceedings of the board and its staff concerning the respondent's compliance with this order. Upon application to this Court and on notice, he may request that this Court issue any further orders to assist him in this duty. His compensation shall be fixed and paid pursuant to further order. (Friday Egly named Monroe Price, a 38-year-old UCLA law professor, to fill this post.)

7. The Board and its staff shall give to the designated representatives of the petitioners and all intervenors all reasonable access to the board and its staff's planning process and data so that eventually this Court may be better informed.
8. The Court retains jurisdiction to make such further orders as may seem proper and just in the circumstances and to conduct such hearings as may seem necessary to better inform it and to aid it in the enforcement of the mandate.
9. Pending further hearing, nothing in this order shall be construed to inhibit the Board from instituting any efforts to voluntarily desegregate its schools.
10. Upon the filing of the plan or plans, each of the other parties herein may file its written objections or support of that plan within 14 days thereafter, which time the Court shall then set a date for a hearing thereon. The procedure for such hearing to be determined by conference of the parties held prior thereto; the time and place to be set by this Court.

Notes

1. The terms "Mexican American" and "Chicano" are used here for convenience as equivalent and interchangeable, without any implication of their "correctness" or the "correctness" of any other term or terms that might have been used in their place. Spanish surname is the designation used by the 1960 and 1970 national census and includes individuals who are not of Mexican descent. For example, many Puerto Ricans, Cubans, and other Latin Americans are included in this national statistic, along with Spanish descendants and others with Spanish surname. Therefore, the Spanish surname designation is not synonymous with the terms Mexican American and Chicano. For our purpose here though, the Spanish surname data provided by the 1960 and 1970 census is relevant. First, the vast majority of the Spanish surname in the five southwestern states being considered, are of Mexican descent. Secondly, the only available statistical information, that is considered reliable is the census data for the Spanish surname population. No studies at that time were conducted that focused on the Mexican American.
2. U.S. Census 1970, Table 51, General Social and Economic Characteristics.
3. "Racial and Ethnic Survey, 1965-66." Los Angeles Unified School District.
4. Joan W., Moore *Mexican Americans*, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1970. p. 77.
5. Thomas Carter, *Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect*, College Entrance Examination Board, New York, 1970.
6. Moore, 1970, p. 77; also see Carter, 1970. Chapter 3, "The Default of the School." p. 65.
7. Octavio I. Romano; Editorial, in *El Grito, A Journal of Contemporary Mexican American Thought*, Vol. II, No. 1, Fall, 1968, p. 2. Also, see Octavio I. Romano, "The Anthropology and Sociology of the Mexican Americans: The Distortion of Mexican American History," in *El Grito*, Vol. II, No. 1, Fall, 1968, p. 22. In this article Dr. Romano deals with the social science studies on Mexican Americans and how these studies have grossly distorted history. Romano's charges that social scientists such as Ruth Tuck (1946), Lyle Saunder (1954), Munro S. Edmonson (1957), William Madsen (1968), and others have perpetuated a historically distorted stereotype which has, due to recent research, been proven to be a myth.
8. Moore, 1970. p. 78.
9. Carter, 1970. p. 81.
10. Ibid., p. 82
11. Moore, 1970. p. 79
12. California State Department of Education, "Racial and Ethnic Survey of California's Public Schools, Part One: Distribution of Pupils, Fall, 1966," Sacramento, 1967.
13. Moore, 1970. p. 79
14. Carter, 1970. p. 86.
15. Julian Samora, "Educational Status of a Minority," in *Theory and Practice*, Vol. 2, June 1963. pp. 2-3.
16. Carter, p. 93.
17. "Fall 1966 Racial and Ethnic Survey," 1967.
18. Carter, p. 94
19. Carter, p. 94
20. George i. Sanchez, "Pachucos in the Making," in *Common Ground*, 4, 1, Autumn 1943.
21. Ibid.

22. Francis Keppel, *The Necessary Revolution in American Education*. New York: Harper and Row, 1966. p.30.
23. Ibid, p. 30.
24. Ivan Illich, *Deschooling Society*. New York: Harper and Row, 1971, p. 4.
25. John P. Roche and Leonard P. Levy, *The Judiciary*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Word, Inc., 1964. p. 174.
26. Arthur E., Wise *Rich Schools, Poor Schools, the Promise of Equal Educational Opportunity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967, p. 17.
27. Ibid, p. 22.
28. Myron Lieberman, *Equality of Educational Opportunity*. Harvard Educational Review XXIX, Summer 1959, p. 176.
29. Philip B. Kurland, *The Supreme Court, 1963 Term Foreward: Equal in Origin and Equal in Title to the Legislature and Executive Branches of the Government*. Harvard Law Review, LXXVIII, November 1964, p. 157.
30. Wise, p. 6.
31. *Crawford v. Board of Education of the City of Los Angeles*, in the Supreme Court of the State of California, filed June 28, 1976, L.A. 30485; Super. Ct. No. 822 854, p. 7.

    Also see the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report, *A Generation Deprived: Los Angeles School Desegregation*, May 1977, which focuses on the *Crawford* case and desegregation activity in Los Angeles. This report culminated more than ten weeks of field investigation, three days of public hearings (December 13-15, 1976) and presents the Commission's findings and recommendations regarding school desegregation efforts in Los Angeles.

    Another resource to consider, specifically dealing with Los Angeles School desegregation, is *To Kill A Child's Spirit: The Tragedy of Segregation in Los Angeles*, by John Caughey.
32. Ibid., p. 8.
33. Ibid., p. 9.
34. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
35. Ibid., pp. 11-12.
36. Ibid., p. 11.
37. Ibid., pp. 3-6, 12-16.
38. Ibid., p. 10.
39. Ibid., p. 40.
40. Ibid., pp. 9-12.
41. Ibid., pp. 9-10.
42. Ibid., pp. 12-13.
43. Ibid., pp. 13-14.
44. Ibid., p. 1.
45. Ibid., pp. 1-2.
46. Ibid., p. 30.
47. Ibid., pp. 15-16.
48. Ibid., p. 24.
49. Ibid., p. 24.
50. Ibid., p. 25. The State Supreme Court referred to Weingberg, *The Relationship Between School Desegregation and Academic Achievement: A review of the Research* (1975) 39 Law and Contemporary Problems 241; St. John, School Desegregation: Outcomes for Children (1975) pp. 16-41.
51. Ibid., pp. 33-35.
52. Ibid., pp. 21-22.
53. Ibid., pp. 22-23.
54. Ibid., p. 8.
55. Los Angeles Unified School District (L.A.U.S.D.) student ethnicity information found in "A Basis For Planning," a pamphlet produced by the Superintendents Office, January 1976. p. 4.
56. Ibid., p. 4.

57. Graphs 1 and 2 were prepared by Vahac Mardirosian from information contained in L.A.U.S.D. Summary Report #321.
58. Map of L.A.U.S.D. Elementary Schools showing Ethnic Enrollment distribution provided in the Los Angeles Times, March 27, 1977.
59. L.A.U.S.D., "A Basis for Planning," p. 4.
60. Los Angeles Times, "Latins Hit School Integration Planning," February 10, 1977. Also see *A Generation Deprived. Los Angeles School Desegregation*, which contains the testimony of Chicano residents regarding desegregation in Los Angeles.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Provided by the Chicano Subcommittee to CACSI.
64. *Los Angeles Times*, "L.A. School Integration: New Cast in Long Drama," March 27, 1977.
65. *Los Angeles Times*, "Board OKs Limited Plan for Integration," March 3, 1977.
66. *Times*, March 27.
67. *Los Angeles Times*, "Integration Plan Given to Court," March 19, 1977. For a review of the School Board plan, submitted to the court in March 1977, see *A Generation Deprived: Los Angeles School Desegregation*, pp. 195-230.
68. *Times*, March 19, 1977.
69. Ibid.
70. *Times*, March 27.
71. Ibid.
72. *Los Angeles Times*, "Court to Get 3 Busing Plans," January 19, 1977.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.
75. *Times*, March 27.
76. Ibid.
77. Los Angeles Unified School District, *Spotlight*, Special Edition, March 21, 1977. "Integration Plan Goes to Court."
78. *Los Angeles Times*, "Further Delay in Integration of Schools Likely," April 24, 1977.
79. Ibid.
80. *Los Angeles Times*, "School Ethnic Census Challenged by Egly," May 3, 1977.
81. Ibid.
82. *Times*, April 24.
83. *Times*, May 3.
84. Ibid.
85. *Los Angeles Times*, "Schools Face Risk in Bid for Integration Aid," April 24, 1977.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid.
88. Ibid.
89. Ibid.
90. Ibid.
91. *Los Angeles Times*, "Chicanos Still See Bilingual Programs As A Vital Issue." April 4, 1977.
92. Ibid.
93. The *Los Angeles Times*, "Judge Rejects L.A. Schools' Plan for Integration," Wednesday, July 6, 1977.
94. Ibid.
95. Ibid.
96. Ibid.
97. *Times*, January 19, 1977.
98. This paper was drafted by Dr. David López-Lee as per the expressed concerns of the Chicano Subcommittee of the CACSI at a meeting held December 22, 1976.
99. See Gordon Allport, *Nature of Prejudice* (New York: Doubleday, 1958); and

Bruno Bettelheim and M. Janowitz, *Social Change and Prejudice* (New York: Free Press, 1964).

100. Letter to Grace M. Davis, Deputy Mayor of the City of Los Angeles from Robert E. Joyce, Community Analysis Bureau Director, Office of the Mayor, December 6, 1976.

101. Manuel Ramirez, III, "Identification with Mexican-American Values and Psychological Adjustment in Mexican American Adolescents," *International Journal of Social Psychiatry*, 1969 *15* (2), 151-156; Vita S. Sommers, "The Impact of Dual-cultural Membership on Identity," *Psychiatry*, 1964, *27*, 332-344; H. Fabrega, Jr. & Wallace, C.A. "Value Identification and Psychiatric Disability: An Analysis Involving American of Mexican Descent," *Behavioral Science*, 1968, 13, 362-371; S. Parker & Kleiner, R.J. *Mental Illness in the Urban Negro Community* (New York: Free Press, 1965); R.H. Blum, "Case Identification in Psychiatric Epidemiology: Methods and Problems," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, 1962, *40*, 253-288: A. I; Hallowell, "Values, Acculturation and Mental Health," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 1950, *20*, 732. 743.

102. T. P. Carter, *Mexican Americans in School: A History of Educational Neglect* (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1970); G. Demos, "Attitudes of Mexican Americans and Anglo-American Groups Toward Education," *Journal of Social Psychology*, 1962, 57, 249-256; David Lopez-Lee, et al. *The Cal-State, L.A. Chicano Student – A Study of Academic Performance of E.O.P. Chicanos, Non-E.O.P. Chicanos, and Anglos, and the Relationship of Attitudes to Academic Performance*. Educational Opportunity Program, California State College, Los Angeles, 1971; H. T. Manuel, *The Spanish-Speaking Children of the Southwest – Their Education and the Public Welfare* (Austin, Texas: The University of Texas Press, 1965); Manuel Ramirez, III, *Potential Contributions by the Behavioral Sciences to Effective Preparation Program for Teachers of Mexican American Children*. Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, New Mexico, Feb., 1969; M. Ramirez, III, Taylor, C. & Peterson, B. "Mexican American Cultural Membership and Adjustment to School," *Developmental Psychology*, 1971, *4*, 141-148; Manuel Ramirez, III, "The Relationship of Acculturation to Educational Achievement and Psychological Adjustment in Chicano Children and Adolescents: A Review of the Literature," *El Grito*, 1971, *4* (4), 21-28.

103. Other studies reporting a poorer self-concept for minorities in contrast to Anglo-Americans, include: B. Peterson & Ramirez, III, M. "Real Ideal Self Disparity in [Black] and Mexican American Children," *Psychology*, 1971, *8* (3), 22-26; William Madsen, "Value Conflicts in Cultural Transfer," In: P. Worchel, & Byrne D. (eds.) *Personality Change* (New York: Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1964); A.G. Dworkin "Stereotypes and Self-images Held by Native-born and Foreign-born Mexican Americans," *Sociology and Social Research*, 1965, *49*, 214-224.

104. The term "limited-English speaking" pupils includes "non-English speaking" pupils.

105. Letter to William Johnston, Superintendent, LAUSD, from Floyd L. Pierce, Director, Office for Civil Rights (Region IX), Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, December 9, 1976.

106. *Brown* v. *Board of Education* 347 U.S. 483 (1954); and *Crawford* v. *Board of Education of City of Los Angeles* 551 p. 2d 28 (1976).

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